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THESIS

**EXPANDING THE SHIELD AND FACING THE
CHALLENGES: INTEGRATION OF WOMEN IN THE
BOTSWANA DEFENCE FORCE**

by

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March 2003

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13. ABSTRACT

Botswana remains one of the few countries in the world (and the only country in the South African Development Community (SADC)) where females are legally prohibited from joining the military. The political and social pressure in the 21st century has softened the opposition of many influential politicians and bureaucrats to calls for inclusionary statutes.

This thesis examines the possibility of opening doors to women in the Botswana Defence Force (BDF). It examines the policies, programs and scope of the role of women in the US armed services, Canadian Forces (CF) and the South African National Defence Forces (SANDF). It identifies from these highlights the most effective approaches to recruiting, training, and retaining women in the BDF once the opportunity is availed.

In particular, this thesis examines the Six critical policies of the US armed services and the CF, namely, sexual harassment, fraternization, employment of women, equal opportunity, pregnancy, and family care. This thesis considers the lessons from these for the BDF. Two critical cases of sexual harassment, (the 1991 Tailhook Navy and Marine Corps Convention and the 1996 US Army's Aberdeen Proving Ground incident), are highlighted in the study. The leading recommendations emphasize the need for the BDF to take the steps required to evoke a cultural change to affect the attitudes and perceptions of personnel and to examine how the SANDF administers its policies as they pertain to women.

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INTEGRATION OF WOMEN IN THE BOTSWANA DEFENCE FORCE**

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I. INTRODUCTION

A. BACKGROUND

The call in Botswana for the introduction of women into the military has long been the focus of public and parliamentary debate. Many relevant changes in legislation have been called for, including a proposal by the former Acting Minister of Presidential Affairs and Public Administration, Mrs. Tebelelo Seretse. Even “Vision 2016”, the brainchild of the August 1996 Presidential Task Force, assigned to produce a framework for a long term vision for Botswana, calls for the government to either amend or repeal all laws, policies and practices that discriminate against women. Vision 2016 specifically calls for the Botswana Defence Force (BDF) to admit women into its structures or ranks.¹ The BDF does not currently admit women into its cadres. This thesis will examine reasons as to why women should be integrated into the BDF.

Contrary to the belief of many anti-integrationists, the Botswana government and the BDF, in particular, will be better served by a co-ed officers’ and non-commissioned officers’ (NCO) corps. The admission of women into the ranks of the BDF will mark an important social and cultural shift from the past. It will help to bring the military in line with a national social system in which women are increasingly filling leadership positions. Although the entry of women into the military will be far from easy, the favorable opinions expressed by concerned ministers such as Mrs. Seretse bear witness to the work of the concerned parliamentarians and ministers as a good starting point. Discrimination against women violates the principles of equality of rights and respect for human dignity. It stands as an obstacle to the participation of women, on equal terms with men, in the political, social, economic and cultural life of a country. It hampers the growth and prosperity of society and the family and makes more difficult the full development of the potentialities of women in the service of their country and humanity. Of course, the road to full integration is long and there will be many obstacles along the way towards completion of the integration process. The experiences of other armed forces will be discussed and evaluated as part of this thesis. Nevertheless, I am confident

¹ Vision 2016, 56: This is a national manifesto for the people of Botswana. It reflects the views of many different parts of society. It is a statement of long-term goals that identifies the challenges implied by these goals, and proposes a set of strategies that meet them (Vision 2016 Presidential Task Force).

that the presence of females will constitute an improvement in the Botswana Defence Force, both in quality and in professional skills. Individuals have unlimited capacities and when people's roles are defined solely according to their sex, human development is severely limited.

The BDF is the only remaining public sector denied to women and the situation is no longer acceptable in Botswana, a country world renown for its stable democracy. What causes more concern is the fact that its Constitution contains exclusionary laws (section 15[3] of the Botswana Constitution) that fail to include or recognize gender in its meaning of the term “discriminatory.”² Many who regard Botswana as the shining example of democracy in Africa are puzzled by the exclusion of women from the military. Renowned writers Louis A. Pichard and Abdi Ismail Samata call Botswana a “model of democracy” and “an African miracle.”³ However, what singles out Botswana most negatively on women’s issues is the fact that it is the only country in the Southern African Development Community (SADC)⁴ region that excludes women from its military. Zimbabwe and Namibia, which attained independence in 1980 and 1990 respectively, that is, after Botswana, both include women in their military.

On August 13 1996, the Botswana government ratified the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women.⁵ What is the Convention all about and why did Botswana become a signatory? The Convention came about because many countries felt that despite the many resolutions, declarations and various instruments adopted by the United Nations and the specialized agencies promoting equality of rights of men and women, extensive discrimination against women continued

² Section 15(3) reads, “In this section, the expression “discriminatory” means affording different treatment to different persons, attributable wholly to their respective descriptions by race, tribe, and place of origin, political opinions, color or creed...”

³ Samatar, Abdi Ismael, *An African Miracle: State and Class Leadership and Colonial Legacy in Botswana Development* (Portsmouth: Heinemann, 1993) p. 1. Louis A. Pichard titled his book; *The Politics of Development in Botswana: A Model for Success*.

⁴ An economic community established on 17 July 1992 consisting of thirteen member states: Angola, Botswana, Democratic Republic of Congo, Lesotho, Malawi, Mauritius, Mozambique, Namibia, South Africa, Swaziland, Tanzania, Zambia, and Zimbabwe dedicated to the ideals of free trade, free movement of people, a single currency, democracy, and respect for human rights.

⁵ The UN Internet Gateway on the Advancement and Empowerment of Women. Convention on the Elimination of All forms of Discrimination against Women. “*Women Watch*”. Available from <http://www.un.org/womenwatch/daw/cedaw/ratifica.htm> Accessed February 20, 2003.

to exist. Botswana shared the same concerns with these countries and wanted to make a difference within and outside its society. Thus, Botswana became a signatory and ratified the Treaty. By ratifying the Treaty, the Botswana government bound itself to its terms and conditions. This means that the Botswana government conceded to the fact that for full and complete development of its nation, the welfare of the world and the cause of peace, it needs to facilitate the maximum participation of women on equal terms with men in all fields. All fields indeed mean *all* fields and do not exclude the military. Therefore, the government's renegeing on its initial promise to include women in the BDF by August 2001 not only left many gender activists disappointed and it also makes Botswana's posture on women's issues questionable.⁶ The government has implemented noteworthy empowerment policies in other segments of society to break barriers that have long hindered participation of women, thus complying with the implementation of the Beijing Platform for Action (PFA)⁷. The inclusion of women in the military is one of many hurdles the government has yet to face. Eventually, the government will have to make the "painful" decision to include women in the BDF. This decision will result in a complete paradigm shift in the traditional beliefs about the role of women in postmodern Botswana society.⁸ This inclusion should be viewed as a great challenge, and not a threat, to the potential servicewomen in general, and the leadership of the BDF in particular.

B. PURPOSE

1. Objective

This thesis will draw upon the various recommendations of selected critical commissions, case studies and research conducted in the United States regarding various military issues concerning women. Lessons learned from ABC&A (America, Britain, Canada and Australia) and other NATO countries on women's issues will be considered to help facilitate new policies, rules and regulations that will be acceptable in managing a

⁶ Emang, Basadi, Women Association, "*The Women's Manifesto: A Summary of Botswana Women's Issues and Demands*," Lentswe La Lesedi, 1999, Second Edition.

⁷ The Beijing Platform for Action (PFA) adopted at the Fourth World Conference on Women held in Beijing in 1995 called for a review process after five years, that is from 1995-2000, to assess its implementation and the obstacles encountered, as well as develop strategies for the following five years.

⁸ Important note: Botswana is the country: Motswana (Batswana-plural) is/are the inhabitant(s) or citizen(s) of Botswana.

gender unbiased military. References to the South African National Defence Forces (SANDF) will also be made since Botswana shares a similar culture with the Tswana people of the South African society.

The experiences of the U.S. military will be examined to help guide policy makers in updating the current rules and regulations that exclude women and to bring in the new all gender inclusive legal framework and a code of conduct for the BDF.

2. Historical Background

The following research questions draw upon some fundamental problems that help slow down the process of visualizing the inclusion of women in the BDF. Included is a look at the historical perceptions that shape the contemporary thinking of anti-integrationists. The second set of research questions assumes a strategic perspective in trying to generate solutions for likely issues that will arise once the integration of women is put into law.

a. Research Questions

- What are the perceptions about women in society in general?
- How are women viewed in the African and Botswana culture in particular and how does that bear relevance to the perception of women related military issues?
- What is the historical background of women in the military?
- What efforts have been made so far toward inclusion in Botswana?

b. Recommendation to Rescind the Women in the Military Exclusionary Laws in Botswana

- If, in the near future, as *Vision 2016* stipulates, women are allowed to join the BDF, how will they be recruited, trained, employed and retained?
- What are the likely future challenges to potential service women and the BDF command in particular?
- What recommendations could be drawn from further research in the issue of a full integration of women in the BDF?

C. SCOPE AND ORGANIZATION

1. Scope

The scope of this thesis is to present an analysis of the exclusionary clause in the Botswana Constitution that denies women equal opportunity or freedom to work in areas of their choice; an opportunity afforded to their male counterparts. It draws conclusions

based on the possible motivating rationale that created the exclusionary clause when the Constitution was enacted in 1966. The study also brings in societal held myths about women in society and the military since they normally play a role in shaping the influences of decision makers. The myths of the U.S. military are examined because many policies that the thesis examines are based on the American model. Even though the BDF from the beginning adopted many customs, traditions, and largely, an Act that is similar to the British (The Queens Regulations-British Armed Forces), the thesis will not rely heavily on the British model for two main reasons. First, there is not a lot of literature available that reviews military gender issues within the British military. The British open source debates on this issue fall short of what the research intends to explore. Secondly, the BDF has dramatically increased its military cooperation with the U.S., and at the same time, the influence of the British on the doctrine of the BDF has dwindled over the years. Furthermore, this thesis will attempt to create a positive platform that is both willing and accepting towards the integration of women in the BDF as well as to focus on the anticipated problems and will recommend policies that can best address these problems.

2. Limitations and Assumptions

Due to the limited literature on gender issues in the African militaries, this research will look at the lessons learned in the ABC&D countries and examine in detail some of the U.S. policies pertaining to women in the American Armed Forces. It will examine three case studies, the November 15, 1992 Report of the Presidential Commission on the Assignment of Women in the Armed Forces, the sexual assaults at the Navy 1991 Tailhook Convention and the 1997 US Army's Aberdeen Proving Ground sexual impropriety incident[s]) of the U.S. Armed Forces, and the U.S. Army and U.S. Navy in particular. These two services were selected because of the previous difficulties they endured regarding their policies pertaining to women. The U.S. Navy, in particular, was selected because of the Tailhook incident that prompted worldwide attention, and the U.S. Army because of the serious allegations of sexual impropriety at several Army installations, especially the Army's Aberdeen Proving Ground incident. These three cases have been selected particularly because they cover the policies that will be discussed in Chapters III and IV. It is assumed that the selected case studies and policies

will present a fair and strong cross sectional recommendation for future policies regarding women in the BDF.

3. Organization

Subsequent to the introduction, this thesis consists of four chapters. Chapter II examines the present debates specific to whether or not women should be integrated in the BDF by providing concrete background information on the changing role of women in Botswana society. Based on the current war doctrine of the BDF and contemporary militaries around the world, women are capable of serving in many of the same roles as their male counterparts in the defense force; Therefore, it makes no sense for them to be excluded from serving in the BDF. This chapter further discusses the role of women in the United States military and how Batswana women are capable of serving the same role if they are integrated in the BDF. Chapter III investigates recruitment policies and procedures, training and retention of servicewomen in the United States and some of the ABC&A countries as well as examining how and to what extent their models could be applied to the BDF. Chapter IV identifies some of the challenges, such as cohesion, morale and readiness, sexual harassment and employment of women in combat, the BDF command will confront. Chapter V draws lessons from cases studied in the United States and offers recommendations, conclusions and informed judgments about policies that will effectively integrate women in the BDF as well as offering recommendations for further research.

II. WOMEN IN SOCIETY AND WOMEN IN THE MILITARY

This chapter introduces the changing role of women in society and how these reforms affect, or change the military. The historical role women played in African culture is reviewed in general, and the social, cultural, and traditional values of women in the Botswana society are examined in detail to show how the traditional views, held by many about the 21st century women's role in Botswana, has been overtaken by events. This chapter argues that women in Botswana should have the same role in the armed forces as the women from the ABC&D countries.

This chapter also examines how many decisions by governments as to whether to include women in the armed forces, how to train them, and where to employ them, are influenced by how societies in general perceive them. For countries like Botswana, with no women in the armed forces, and those countries who have imposed tight restrictions on the type of jobs women can do in the service, it is time for them to review their policies so that women can have a choice as to the type of job they want to do.

No matter in which service or country, the military has always needed women in at least some capacity. Though it might not be in the same capacity as men in many respects, they have always and will continue to play a role and this thesis shall provide evidence to that effect. In the specific case of Botswana, a country so renowned in the world for its good democratic principles, it is important to note that change is necessary in the interest of subscribing to the rhetoric of its democratic political philosophy.

A. THE ROLE AND STATUS OF WOMEN IN THE 21ST CENTURY

1. From Patriarchy to Diversity

Women all over the world have played critical roles in the socio-economic sphere of their own countries as well as the world at large. Despite the many contributions women have made to the socio-economic development within their respective countries and for the global community, they have often fallen victim to marginalization, inequality, abuse, and are portrayed as second-class citizens by the social and political systems of their own countries. The status of women in Afghanistan's recent past, for example, was a very demeaning one. Women under the Taliban's strict Sharia laws were

subject to some of the greatest abuses the world has ever witnessed including being denied almost every fundamental right. With the coming to power of Islamic fundamentalists in 1992, women's right to full participation in the social, economic, cultural and political life of the country was drastically curtailed, and later on, summarily denied them by the Taliban. Under the Taliban's rigid interpretation of the Sharia law, women can neither work nor attend school. Even more disturbing was that women were not allowed to laugh. Laughing was apparently considered insult to Allah. On the political side women could not preside over the loya jirga, a traditional assembly that has for centuries been the exclusive domain of males. It often suits patriarchal religious leaders, who want to retain their power, to cling to outdated views and to confuse religion with what is really an issue of cultural tradition. We have to keep in mind that, no matter politically correct is to say it, the Taliban were the aberration of Islam in terms of how women were treated; they were the logical extension of it. This inequality and marginalization has occurred all over the world, across all sectors of society, be it economic, political, social or cultural just to mention but a few. This gender inequality has unfortunately, been evident across the world, from the most developed countries to the most underdeveloped countries and across all five continents since time immemorial.⁹ The awareness has permeated the global village as witnessed by the under representation of women in giant multi-national corporations, world organizations such as the big NGO's and world bodies like the UN which make significant decisions that regularly affect the lives of women just the same as men.

Historically, women have suffered setbacks to their legal rights, political underrepresentation and a lack of career opportunities. Traditionally, in societies around the world, being a mother or wife has been regarded as the woman's profession, and it continues in this day and age in many parts of the world, where women are not allowed to work outside the home. In many situations, when they do work, they are unfairly treated.

⁹ The use of Canadian and Afghanistan models as the examples should be viewed from the perspective of how women suffered and continue to suffer setbacks in both the developed and developing world. It also brings in the aspect of patriarchy by showing that it is demonstrated in all aspects of socio-economic life. The example of Canada as a developed country is to show that patriarchal practices of all sorts are widespread even in societies that claim to practice equal opportunity. The case of Afghanistan is to demonstrate that an extreme case can dehumanize women and relegate them to animals in other societies.

The statistics presented by the UN Conference on Women in Copenhagen in 1980 remain true today: women do between two-thirds and three-quarters of the work in the world. They also produce 45 percent of the world's food. But they are still granted only 10 percent of the world's income and 1 percent of world property...¹⁰.

Early attitudes towards women have played a significant role in the manner they continue to be perceived in the 21st century.

Early Roman law described women as children. In religions such as Hinduism, women cannot own property and widows cannot remarry. Women have always been regarded as the weaker sex, both intellectually and biologically. This myth of the inferiority of women has greatly influenced the laws regarding the status of women. Historians call ancient Athens the seat of democracy because it was the first state to allow citizens to vote. Unfortunately, as the French observe, women could not vote because they were not regarded as citizens. Only women and slaves could not be citizens. The law equated women to slaves. Under the early common law of England a married woman was defined as being one with her husband, giving up her name and virtually all her property, came under her husband's control. These laws, with few modifications, are still found embedded in many of the laws of former British colonies. In colonial America, when it came to careers, women who did work but performed only certain menial jobs that were normally not done by their male counterparts, which included jobs such as typing, domestic work and factory labor. Women have also had a limited role in politics in many countries, and even today, they are still gravely underrepresented in many political decision-making arenas. Table 2.1 presents statistics regarding the world representation of women in politics from 1945 until January 1998 as established by the Inter-Parliamentary Union (IPU) based on data provided by national parliaments.¹¹

¹⁰ French, Merily, *The War Against Women*, (New York: Matrix Production, 1992), p. 30.

¹¹ "Women in Politics: Beyond Numbers, 1998." *International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Change* Available from <http://www.idea.int/women/parl/ch2b.htm#table2> Accessed February 22, 2003.

Table 2.1. Prominent Women in Politics.

Women Presidents or Speakers of Parliament	
1945–1998	1 January 1998
In 52 years of world parliamentary history, only 41 of the 186 states with a legislative institution, at one time or another of their history have selected a woman to preside over Parliament or a House of Parliament: this has occurred 77 times in all.	Of the 177 existing Parliaments, 63 are bicameral. Only 18 women preside over one of the 240 existing Houses. 7.5 % women are Presidents or Speakers of Parliament. <i>The countries concerned are: Antigua and Barbuda (House of Representatives and Senate); Australia (Senate); Bahamas (House of Assembly); Croatia (House of Zupanije); Ethiopia (Federal Council); Finland (EduskuntaRiksdagen); Germany (Bundestag); Guatemala (Congreso de la República); Jamaica (House of Representatives and Senate); Malta (House of Representatives); Norway (Stortinget); Poland (Senat); South Africa (National Assembly); Suriname (National Assembly); Sweden (Riksdagen); United Kingdom (House of Commons).</i>
Those concerned are 17 European countries, 19 countries of the Americas including nine Latin American countries, three African countries, one Asian country and one country of the Pacific.	
24 of the 41 states concerned had a bicameral parliament and the presidency was entrusted to a woman a little more often in the Senate than in the lower House.	
Austria is the only State to have elected a woman to the presidency of the Bundesrat before the Second World War.	

Statistics established by the Inter-Parliamentary Union (IPU) based on data provided by national parliaments.

As feminism gained ground, women have globally fought for, and to a large degree, accomplished a reevaluation of the traditional views of the role of women in society. Feminism has helped sensitize the gender unconscious world regarding gender oppression as well as providing a platform for debating equal rights issues for women. The emergence of women's groups, such as the Women's Movement in the U.S. and Canada, the Association of African Women Lawyers, and Emang Basadi in Botswana, transformed the world's perception of women. Even though these gender groups are composed of a diverse mix of social classes, middle class professional women generally dominate them. The domination of the middle class in these groups gives greater

audience to those issues that affect mainly middle and upper class women. Emang Basadi, for example, has not been very vocal regarding the inclusion of women in the BDF but has made significant strides in other sectors that will be discussed later in this chapter. To gain stronger representation and be more responsive to demands of all women, class differences will need to be addressed. Without fair or equal representation of all social classes, Emang Basadi gives a wrong or biased interpretation of what constitutes femininity thus silencing all other women in society. The impression it gives is that it is an elite's type of women movement, only more vocal in expressing the views and feelings of the educated women.

Due to this growing consciousness in our contemporary society, we have witnessed the changing roles for women. In the political arena, women have been very active and visible. In the U.S., 29 women have held cabinet or cabinet-level appointments since 1789, when the presidential cabinet was first established. They represent 5.8% of the 498 individuals who have served in the cabinet. Of the 29 women, 21 held cabinet posts, including two who headed two different departments and two who held both a cabinet post and a position defined as cabinet-level. Sixteen of these women were appointed by the Democratic presidents FDR, Carter and Clinton, while 13 were appointed by the Republican presidents Eisenhower, Ford, Reagan, George H. Bush and George W. Bush.¹²

Under former President Bill Clinton, for example, Madeleine K. Albright became Secretary of State and U.S. Ambassador to the UN; Aida Alvarez, Administrator, Small Business Administration; Carol M. Browner, Administrator, Environmental Protection Agency; Elizabeth Hanford Dole, Secretary of Labor and Secretary of Transportation; Alexis Herman, Secretary of Labor; Janice R. Lachance, Director, Office of Personnel Management; Janet Reno, Attorney General; and Donna E. Shalala, Secretary of Health and Human Services. Three women held their countries' highest elective offices by 1970.

Sirimavo Bandaranaike was Prime Minister of Ceylon, (now Sri Lanka, from 1960 to 1965 and from 1970 to 1977. Indira Gandhi was Prime Minister of India from 1966 to

¹² Rutgers University, 2002. Center for the American Woman and Politics (CAWP), National Information Bank on Women in Public Office, Eagleton Institute of Politics. Database on-line. Available from <http://www.gendergap.com/government/fedcab97.html>.

1977 and from 1980 until her assassination in 1984. Golda Meir was prime minister of Israel from 1969 to 1974.¹³ Currently, 122 of the elected Members of the British Parliament are female and 37 of the elected members of the new Scottish Parliament are women.¹⁴ Nowadays, women are more educated, can work in a variety of professions and hold higher posts. “In non industrial or developing countries, women hold about 6 percent of government posts; in most European countries they hold 5 to 11 percent.”¹⁵

The past centuries have witnessed the informal war launched by men to gain domination, and to some extent, inflict abuse against women from all walks of life around the world. This discrimination has been evident at systemic, state, institutional, cultural and personal levels. At the systemic level, women have been and are still disadvantaged by international and religious systems, which individuals cannot change. The disadvantages differ from country to country but there are systemic commonalities. For example, all over the world, raising children and the performance of other domestic jobs is regarded as the sole responsibility of women. In religious circles, women are denied the opportunity to participate in activities of their choice as well as some fundamental universal freedoms, such as the freedom to dress as they wish. Institutions, such as the military, have a tendency to sideline women and justify their actions. Although we are now in a postmodernism era, many traditional military beliefs still characterize the nature of contemporary militaries around the world. The traditional military was commonly regarded as a masculine organization. Therefore, the behavioral codes, activities, objectives and norms of contemporary military organizations adopted masculinity as a basic value. Women’s participation in the military has been and is currently viewed by some to specifically contradict the image of femininity. This attitude was widely accepted in the world of men and women were made and/or manipulated to accept it as true. The argument against the deployment of women within the military and the debate over about whether women should participate in combat exemplifies the problem.

¹³ Women’s International Center. *Golda Meir Biography*. Journal on-line. Available from <http://www.wic.org/bio/gmeir.htm> February 22, 2003.

¹⁴ Abdela, Lesley. 2001. “Women Loose Ground.” *Shevolution*. Available from, http://www.shevolution.qbfox.com/articles_and_talks/abdelas_archive/women_loose_ground.html Accessed February 22, 2003.

¹⁵ French, p.46.

2. The African Perception

Africa is one of the continents lagging behind in advancing women to bring them on par with their North American and European counterparts. Many traditional beliefs shaped the laws and perception of African states with regard to women. “After independence, African states named men ‘head of the household’ in census data and planning project; this alone excluded women from national and international programs.”¹⁶ African women have been underprivileged by their male counterparts. Unfortunately, these perceptions and laws are still in existence in some of the African countries that are regarded as democratic by world standards.

Last year, in Cameroon, a judge ruled against a woman being allowed to inherit property, saying ‘Women are chattels’. How can property own properties? Leaders and Traditional rulers (mostly male) who oppose women’s right to inherit property prevent millions of African women from economic empowerment.¹⁷

Women in many African societies are not only denied opportunities by laws and stereotypical perceptions but are relegated to jobs that either pay less or not at all. This primarily applies to women residing in rural areas since the majority of women in Africa are found in the rural areas working as farm women or taking care of the “head of the family” and the children.

The typical day of a rural Motswana farm wife and mother is as follows: Normally she wakes up as early as 0300hrs, then goes to the river or a stand pipe, if she is lucky, to fetch water. In most cases, the river is outside the village, which might be 5 miles away. In worst cases, if she has a young baby, as she walks the 10-mile journey to and from the water point she carries along her 30-pound baby on her back. When she gets home, she warms the water for the “head of the family” and the children as they prepare to take a bath and get ready for work and school respectively. By the time she arrives back from the river it is around 0530hrs and the rest of the family is waking up. At the same time as she warms the water, she prepares breakfast for them, so that when

¹⁶ French, p. 33.

¹⁷ Abdela, Lesley. 2001. “Women Loose Ground.” *Shevolution*. Available from, http://www.shevolution.qbfox.com/articles_and_talks/abdelas_archive/women_loose_ground.html

Accessed February 22, 2003.

they finish taking a bath the breakfast is ready. When there are no older children to help bathe the small ones, she bathes the small ones as well. While the rest of the family is enjoying the breakfast she prepared, she is busy breastfeeding the young baby. By the time everybody is ready and off to work or school around 0630hrs she starts to clean the house, then goes to the fields to weed, chase animals and birds until around 1100hrs when she has to pound sorghum and prepare meals for lunch. When the rest of the family arrives and has their lunch around 1300hrs, she gets ready to go and fetch fire wood, another 10 mile journey into the bushes with a 30 pound baby on her back. By the time she comes back, it is usually 1600hrs and in two hours, she has to prepare dinner. The next day is the same routine, and in addition to these jobs, she normally has weekend jobs like doing laundry and grocery shopping. French mentions that most African women work 10-15 hours daily at a variety of different jobs.¹⁸

Despite the African woman being overworked as demonstrated above, she continues to experience countless barriers to economic, social and political empowerment. These obstacles include things such as employment, ownership rights, underpayment, and discrimination in education. Rural women are the most affected. The domestic role women played in the past and continue to play today has greatly influenced the way they are perceived even now.

Recently, however, we have begun to witness many positive changes in Africa regarding the role women play in their societies. International organizations have lobbied and pressured many African countries to improve the status of women in their countries. The Platform for Action, adopted by the Fourth World Conference on Women held in Beijing in 1995 laid out a critical foundation to making the voice of women heard all over the world. Section 41 (Critical Areas of Concern) states that “The advancement of women and the achievement of equality between women and men are a matter of human rights and a condition for social justice and should not be seen in isolation as a women's

¹⁸ The description is based on my personal experience as a young boy who grew up and went to school in a typical small village by then in central Botswana called Mahalapye in the mid seventies. A model of this description is adopted on Merily French's description of the life of a Zambian woman. It is worthy to note that Zambia, which include women in its military shares some same lifestyles with Botswana since both countries are neighbors and have an agrarian type of economy mainly found in remote villages where women play a major role. It has been over twenty years since my experience of such a lifestyle, but as of today, it is something that is still going on though at a reduced scale because of diversification of the economy and modernization.

issue.”¹⁹ As a result, the conference agreed on certain things. Among them were measures to enhance the capacity of women to influence and make economic decisions as paid workers, managers, employers, elected officials, members of non-governmental organizations and unions, producers, household managers and consumers. This convention and many others are beginning to bear fruit and many countries have taken steps to comply with them. A few African states, such as Zimbabwe and Tanzania, have recognized and already started implementing some elements, such as section 5, which states that “The success of the Platform for Action will require a strong commitment on the part of Governments, international organizations and institutions at all levels.”²⁰ They have made efforts to correct customary practices and traditions favoring men's ownership of land, by passing legislation recognizing equal rights for women to own land.

In spite of various setbacks in the past, a few positive developments in Africa pertinent to women's empowerments have transpired in the past few years:

- From January 1975 until April 1976, Elisabeth Domitien was the first appointed woman Prime Minister and first black woman ruler of an independent state: she was Prime Minister of the Central African Republic.
- Silvie Kinigi was appointed Prime Minister and acting President of Burundi in July 1993 until February 1994.²¹
- Ruth Perry was Chairperson of the Council of State (a six-member collective presidency) of Liberia from September 1996 to August 1997.
- In South Africa, women constitute about 25 percent of the national public representatives, placing South Africa seventh in the world in terms of representation of women. It comes in third when ranked with developing countries.²²

Notwithstanding this paucity, women in Africa continue to assume a variety of roles including those of soldiering and political functionaries, over and above their role as producers of children.

¹⁹ The United Nations. *The Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action*, 1995. Available from <http://www.un.org/womenwatch/daw/beijing/platform/plat1.htm#objectives> Accessed February 22, 2003.

²⁰ Ibid.

²¹ International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance. *Gender and Political Participation*. Available from <http://www.idea.int/gender/facts.htm>. Accessed February 22, 2003.

²² Ibid.

Currently, almost all SADC countries have women in their armed forces and, in most cases; they play the same role as their male counterparts. Mozambique, for example, started admitting women into its defense forces as far back as 1967 to achieve the task of the revolution. The Women's Detachment (Destacamento *Feminino*) was formed in 1966.²³ Mozambique really had a head start in helping women to become equal with men and participate fully in formerly male only realms, including soldiering. The continuing process of the changing status of women in African militaries is currently moving at a satisfactory pace. Malawi, for example, one of the last few African countries in SADC to embrace women in its armed forces despite the democratic reforms since gaining independence 37 years ago, graduated its first women soldiers in 2000. According to a Malawi defense minister, by October 2001, 118 women, an officer among them, had graduated from Salima, the country's military college.²⁴ However, much still remains to be done, especially in the attitudinal changes of African men towards women. Many African countries have to part with many traditional practices and stereotypical conceptions of male and female roles in society. This has to start at home before it can be inculcated into the general society. This was expressed in the Lourenço Marques weekly magazine *O Tempo* of March 16 1976:

It is not true that the place for women is in the kitchen. The mato [countryside] is also her place in the struggle. It is not true that women do well at cooking. They also do well in camouflage in surprising the enemy...²⁵

3. The Botswana Case

The role of women in Botswana society has changed dramatically in the past 10 years, not out of design, but because life in Botswana today has also changed. Both elderly men and women often encounter younger and more modern women who are rejecting traditional roles with mixed reactions anywhere from indifference to anger. “Thabiso states that he doesn’t want a modern woman because of their apparent hierarchy of priorities, I might as well marry the maid then, at least I know she looks after the

²³ Hafkin, Nancy and Bay, Edna, Eds, *Women in Africa*, (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1976), p. 258.

²⁴ Kanjaye, Hazwell, Global Information Network, May 31, 2000.

²⁵ Nancy and Bay, p. 260.

children and is always home.”²⁶ The traditional role of women in Botswana has been primarily that of being a mother, raising her children and taking care of her husband. Women’s role in Botswana society has changed over time because of the modern lifestyle that demands more financial independence from men. Urbanization has also precipitated the shift in the lifestyle of Botswana society. Due to the migration of young men from villages to look for jobs in the towns and cities, many women are left in the villages to manage families alone. Owing to the need to sustain the family, economically many women have been forced to reject the traditional tasks of motherhood that fail to meet the modern needs of an average family. The current expensive lifestyle has put much pressure on women to be the breadwinners and devote less time to traditional roles in the home. As Kgomotso put it, “I might not be there to wipe their noses, but I make sure they are well fed. I’d rather ensure that my children have full stomachs, rather than a clean nose.”²⁷

Due to the geo-economic factors, or gaps in terms of the economic developments of cities and villages, and the class system resulting from British colonialism, it is ideal for the sake of this discussion to classify females in Botswana into three broad groups, namely: rural women, young working class women and professional (middle and upper class) women.

a. Rural Women

These are the types of women described previously; women found mostly in low productivity economic sectors such as subsistence farming, small trade and other income areas where earnings are marginal and they are surviving or making ends meet. They are generally uneducated and overburdened with many family responsibilities. Due to their limited education and literacy, they have limited accessibility to government empowerment schemes and incentives. Due to limited job opportunities in the rural areas, they are either unemployed or working at jobs with earnings very below minimum living conditions.

²⁶ The Botswana Gazette, 2002. Available from http://www.gazette.bw/tbg_head6.htm.

²⁷ Ibid

b. *Young Working Class Women*

The majority of this group has attained education up to the high school level or pursued some other vocational training and is normally found in towns and cities because of a lack of employment opportunities for them in the villages. A large number of them are single mothers like Kgomotso and they normally make barely enough to pay rent, buy food and feed their children or poor mothers. They are mainly concentrated in light manufacturing companies such as textiles, big department stores as clerks or small companies as secretaries.

c. *Professional Middle and Upper Class Women*

This sector is characterized by well educated, at least possessing a college degree and well-paid, corporate types. They normally occupy managerial positions, as well as having some professional qualifications. Some also occupy very high posts in both the government and private sectors or are entrepreneurs. A survey by the Botswana Ministry of Trade, Industry, Wildlife and Tourism indicates that out of 2,063 businesses polled, 1,330 are owned by females, 518 by males, while the remaining 215 business are jointly owned by men and women. “This indicates that more women than men in Botswana are participating in business said President Festus Mogae, who added that the phenomena was the same for all African and developed nations.”²⁸ This group has been the voice of women in Botswana. They have facilitated the formation of many NGOs, such as Emang Basadi, who formulated the vision oriented document “The Women’s Manifesto”, a document that contributed to raising public awareness of the disadvantages of women in Botswana as well as contributing to Vision 2016.

B. THE UNITED STATES MILITARY MODEL: CAN IT APPLY TO BATSWANA?

Why, out of so many militaries in the world, are the U.S. case studies a source of inspiration for lessons learned? As mentioned in Chapter I, the British model would have been ideal but unfortunately, there is not much literature written about the role and problems generated by the gender-neutrality of the British military. Despite the fact that the British military is postmodern and bears great resemblance to the BDF, in terms of gender issues, it has never been very open as compared to the U.S. or Canadian Armed

²⁸ BOPA. February 8, 2002. “Women out do men in business”. *Botswana Daily News*. Newspaper on-line. Available from <http://www.gov.bw/cgi-bin/news.cgi?d=20020208> Accessed February 24, 2003.

Forces. The military's openness and transparency is what gives it legitimacy in the eyes of the public. The factors that shape the military-society relations emanate from society's understanding of the roles of the military. Once there is an understanding of what ought to be the roles and responsibilities of the military, then society has the tendency to accept and legitimize the military with ease. It is only through the openness of the military to society that this understanding can be fully developed. The basic format of a postmodern military is a shift towards a defense force or military with greater permeability with civilian society. It is important to note that over the years, the BDF has acquired U.S. military equipment as well as having trained many officers and non-commissioned officers in the U.S., thus resulting in U.S. direct and indirect influence to the doctrine, policies and tactics of the BDF.

Historically, U.S. political leaders and the military did not accept the idea of having women in the military, and certainly, the public agreed. The question posed by many was whether women should be an official part of the services. Many argued that if women were admitted as part of the official service, it would be too expensive and induce them to "masculinize", thus damaging American culture.²⁹ Interestingly, the Vietnam War significantly changed the traditional thinking of the military leadership, politicians as well as the society at large. Military requirements, especially during Vietnam, left no choice for the military or the political leadership. Many men dodged the draft and were unwilling to go to Vietnam, and as a result, the military was not able to cope with the shortages of skilled manpower. To fill the gaps created by men unwilling to join the military as well as those dodging the draft, the military was left with no choice but to accept women in the All Volunteer Force. The political leaders were also confronted with the same realities and had accept the new role of women in the military. In reality, all American women have a long history of being associated with the military. Women have been associated with the American military since the American Revolution. They participated since the Civil War, and the War of 1812, through Desert Storm, Bosnia and many other historical operations.

²⁹ Simon, Rita James, *Women in the Military*, (New Brunswick and London: Transaction Publishers, 2001), p. 7.

The unofficial participation of American women in war efforts started back during the colonial period, when women cooked, did laundry and sewed for their husbands as well as other soldiers. The first women to serve on a ship were nurses and the wives of two sailors aboard the frigate *United States*.³⁰

The official careers for women in the American military formally began with the Nurse Corps. Despite the volunteerism of spouses as nurses, immediately following the Spanish-American War of 1898, the Army realized that it needed women nurses on a permanent basis. As a result, in the Army Reorganization Bill of 1901, Congress created the Nurse Corps (female) as an auxiliary of the Army. The name was changed to the Army Nurse Corps in 1918.³¹ These nurses worked in what are now known as Casualty Clearing Stations, Surgical Field Teams, Mobile Evacuation and Base Hospitals, and on hospital trains and transport ships where the fighting was taking place. It should be noted that nurses did not receive benefits or equal pay like their male counterparts and they were not given military status.

Despite the many debates that went on in the corridors of the Pentagon and Congress, based on the experiences observed in World War I, the Army Chief of Staff realized that women had more training in some non combat skill areas than men so he supported the formation of the Women Army's Auxiliary Corps (WAAC), which later became the Women Army Corps (WAC). Despite the diligent participation of women in the war effort of America, by the end of World War II, the military and political leadership perceptions had not changed. Many, especially in the military and Congress, still did not want women to be recruited in the military.

The demands of World War II made it necessary for the military to utilize women in areas other than nursing in order to release men for combat duty. Women served as telephone operators, performed secretarial duties, packed parachutes, taught instrument flying and directed air traffic. “During World War II, 350,000 women served, but did not

³⁰ D'Amico, Francine and Weinstein, Laurie, *Gender Camouflage*, (New York and London: New York University Press, 1999), p. 39.

³¹ Stiehm, Judith Hicks, *It's Our Military Too: Women in the U.S. Military*, (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1996), p. 91.

perform, combat duties.”³² Following many refusals to make women part of the permanent military force, on 2 June 1948, the United States Congress finally passed the Women’s Armed Services Integration Act. This Act permitted women to become part of the regular forces, but it restricted their numbers to 2% of the personnel and limited the rank and duties of women officers. Women officers could not be generals and women could command only female units. It was the beginning of the long struggle that is still being fought by many women even today.

When the Korean War started, the only women sent to Korea were nurses. The decade of the 1950s was a status quo period for military women. At the height of the Vietnam War in 1968, the strength of women in the Armed Forces reached 33,000, which was still under the 2% percent ceiling. The majority of women who served in Vietnam were Army, Air Force and Navy nurses.

The performance of nurses in Vietnam, as well as Korea and World War II, demonstrated the physical and emotional endurance of women under the most trying and dangerous circumstances. Women with little or no indoctrination in military thinking have shown their ability to not only accept military discipline, but also to create their own collection of compatible standards of military demeanor. During the intervention in Grenada in 1982, women played a prominent role. Some of the positions women served in included:

- Military police platoon leaders
- Bomb Disposal Experts
- Helicopter crew chiefs and maintenance personnel
- Stevedores and they were responsible for the loading of aircraft and the shipment of Soviet/Cuban made weapons back to the U.S
- Intelligence specialists and prisoner of war interrogators. They were responsible for interrogating Cuban military personnel and Cuban construction workers.
- Truck drivers, personnel and postal clerks, laundry and bath personnel, and protocol and administrative specialists
- Air Force women served as flight engineers, loadmasters, and crewmembers

³² D’Amico and Weinstein, p. 41.

Due to the ever-changing role of women in contemporary American armed services, for the past five decades, the number of women has been growing significantly as compared to other countries, especially NATO countries. According to an American Forces Press Service article by Linda D. Kozaryn, about 200,000 women make up 14% of the active duty force (see Table 2.3), and 88.2% of the military's 1.1 million jobs are open to women. Approximately 225,000 women serve in the reserve components and comprise 15.5% of their strength.

Table 2.2. Number of Women in the Military Arranged by Service.
As of April 30, 2001

	Army	Navy	Marine Corps	Air Force	Total DoD
Officers	10,664	7,763	948	11,669	31,044
Enlisted	61,569	43,089	9,429	54,519	168,606
Total	72,233	50,852	10,377	66,188	199,650

From: Military Personnel Statistics: Washington Headquarters Service Active Duty Military Report for May 2001

Compared to the NATO countries listed in Table 2.3, America has significantly addressed the issue of raising the number of women in the services.

Table 2.3. Women in NATO (Numbers and Percentages).

Country	Number of Women	Percentage of the total number of the Armed Forces
USA	198,452	14%
Portugal	2,875	6.6%
Spain	6,462	5.8%
Norway	1,152	3.2%
The Netherlands	4,170	8.0%
Greece	6,155	3.8%
France	27,518	8.5%
Denmark	863	5.0%
Canada	6,558	11.4%
Belgium	3,202	7.6%
Czech Republic	1,991	3.7%
Germany	5,283	2.8%
Hungary	3,017	9.6%
Italy	438	0.1%
Luxembourg	47	0.6%
Poland	277	0.1%
Turkey	917	0.1%
United Kingdom	16,623	8.1%

*The above statistics are from the 2000 Chart of Armed Conflict published in the Military Balance 2000-2001 by the London based International Institute for Strategic Studies.
Data are assessed as correct as of 30 June 2000.*

There are great variations among nations, even among the NATO nations, to the extent in which women serve in the armed forces. In some countries, women are excluded, or have limited involvement, as in Germany, Italy and Spain. In Germany, for

example, about 3,800 women make up 24% of the German military's medical service. Another 37 women serve in military bands. These are the only two branches where women are allowed to serve. German law prohibits them from rendering service involving the use of arms. However, this has begun to change recently.³³

In other countries, almost all military positions, including those with direct, offensive combat functions, are open to women, as in Canada, the Netherlands, Norway, and more recently, the U.S. and the UK. In the UK, as of 1 October 2001, 73% of posts in the Naval Service, 70% of the posts in the Army and 96% of the posts in the Royal Air Force (RAF) are now open to women.³⁴ Notable examples among non-NATO nations are South Africa and Israel, which conscript women but exclude them from combat operations.

South African women have a long history of service in the military. During racial segregation in South Africa, only white South African women served in the South African National Defence Force (SANDF). Women served in auxiliary roles in the SADF in World War I and World War II, and were assigned to active non-combat duties after 1970. In 1970, the SADF began to accept women volunteers into the Permanent Force, and to assign them to duties that would release men for combat and operational duties. Women also served in military elements of the liberation movements in the 1970s and 1980s, and women were accepted into the African National Congress (ANC) military wing Umkhonto we Sizwe (Spear of the Nation, also known as Umkhonto—MK) throughout the antiapartheid struggle. When apartheid was dismantled and democracy took root, there was a legal framework, both in the constitution and in the defense white paper, guiding the involvement of women in areas previously regarded as male enclaves. The defense department acknowledged in its white paper the right of women to serve in all ranks and positions, including combat roles.³⁵ The Constitution guarantees every

³³ Sources for the above data - *"American Forces Press Service"* - Press Release - Article by Linda D. Kozaryn, Date Unknown, Ann-Cathrin Holzapfel of Germany and Defense Link Press Releases <http://userpages.aug.com/captbarb/NATOWomen.html>.

³⁴ "Women in the Armed Forces." May 2002. *Ministry of Defence*. Available from http://www.mod.uk/Issues/women_af.htm Accessed February 24, 2003.

³⁵ *South African Defence White Paper*, Chapter 6, item 37, May 1996.

citizen the right to choose his or her trade, occupation or profession freely.³⁶ Similarly, this could be a good initial step for Botswana, that is, to clearly spell out in the White Paper the exact government expectation of the role of women in the BDF.

The situation at present is that the SANDF prohibits any form of discrimination against women employed either in the permanent or part-time components of the SANDF. Women are offered the same career opportunities and scope as men, and enjoy exactly the same service benefits. Women are free to choose whether they want to be employed in infrastructure posts, support services such as administration, personnel, finance, logistics, signals, catering, and training as instructors, in combat positions, or to undertake foreign affairs duties as military attachés.³⁷

The SANDF is one of the few armed forces in the world that acknowledges the right of women to serve in all ranks and positions, including combat roles. Currently 13% of the SANDF are women and the highest-ranking woman is a Major General (Jackie Sedibe).³⁸

In Israel, many religious settlers are opposed to women serving in the army, particularly because of religious rulings about modesty. Some of this criticism, however, is cloaked in a veil of chauvinism and perception that women soldiers may not be up to the job. Though women could serve in support and combat support roles in the Israeli Defence Forces (IDF), they have, until recently, been prohibited from engaging in actual combat. The rationale for this policy was that should the enemy capture a woman, the effect on national morale would be devastating. This situation has changed following a recent Supreme Court ruling. Recently, women have been assigned to guard positions at the entrances to the settlements, the first line of defense against terrorist attacks. Some citizens expressed their disapproval of this move. A resident of Shvut Rahel on the West Bank told one Israeli newspaper: "It won't work, as we will have to guard the woman

³⁶ *Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, Bill of Rights*, Chapter 2, 8 May 1996.

³⁷ Molekane, Ellen. 1996. "The Role of Women in the South African National Defence Force." *African Security Review* 5, no.5. Available from <http://www.iss.co.za/PUBS/ASR/5No5/Molekane.html> Accessed February 24, 2003.

³⁸ Women's Day 2000. "Towards the 21st Century: Women in Action for Equality and Development." Available from <http://www.gov.za/documents/2000/womensday2000.pdf> Accessed February 24, 2003.

soldiers instead of them guarding us.”³⁹ Women in the Israeli army are usually given secondary support roles such as secretarial and administrative work but they have begun to challenge their status and to demand more active, high-risk positions. Over the course of years, the number of military occupational specialties open to women in the IDF has expanded and today most military professions are now open to women. Women have long served in technological positions, intelligence, operations and training. Likewise, women can be found servicing IDF computerized systems, working as computer programmers, smart weapons systems operators, electronics, technicians, and so forth. Now many military instructors are women who are field engineers and technicians.

The above-mentioned NATO statistics and South African and Israeli cases demonstrate that women’s roles in many defense forces all over the world have changed over time from merely serving as replacement pools for men to being an integral part of the armed forces.

The inclusion of women in the BDF could play the same role as in the U.S. and other countries. Of course, due to the youth of the BDF, and the cultural perceptions regarding women as well as limited vacancies, it will be difficult to attract a significant number. Despite great efforts to increase representation of women in the military, several fatuous stories about women in the military have circulated in the media and have indeed been an obstacle to the progress of women in the military. What is disturbing is that some of these myths and the antiquated military macho thinking are entertained by a number of traditionalists and people in Botswana who are ignorant of military issues. A closer examination of some of these misconceptions, comparing them with the facts will help clarify the confusion.

- **Myth 1:** “Women don’t belong in the military.” Many antiquated thinkers argue that women do not belong in the military because the responsibility of all men is to protect them. **Fact:** If that is the case, then why has it been estimated that “over half of Botswana women are survivors of violence, perpetrated by male partners or relatives.”⁴⁰ Is this what we call protecting women? In the U.S. for example, “On the average each fiscal year from 1990 to 1996, 23.2 per 1000 spouses of military

³⁹ <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/main.jhtml?xml=/news/2002/03/03/wmid203.xml>.

⁴⁰ Legwaila, Mati, Violence Against Women Prevails, *Botswana Daily News*. 07 March 2002.

personnel experienced a violent victimization.⁴¹ This myth demonstrates that violence is in existence even outside the military; therefore, it will not make sense to deprive women service in the BDF under the pretext that the military is a violent profession and women are so fragile that they would not suite in military careers. In essence, the violence against women in the civilian world and probably more as compared to the physical violence they will experience in their military career.

- **Myth 2:** “Women can’t endure the rough living conditions in a combat zone.” **Fact:** According to General Jeanne Holm: “U.S. military women lived like grunts in the field during the Gulf War. They slept in coed tents so cramped that if anyone turned over you knew it. They endured blistering heat and lack of privacy. They ate MRE’s, guzzled bottled water, went for days without showers and put powder in their hair instead of washing it.”⁴²
- **Myth 3:** “The Fraternization lament.”⁴³ This is an inappropriate relationship between senior and subordinate that does not respect the differences between rank and grade. We would now have to worry about fraternization if women are brought in the BDF. **Fact:** The truth is that this is an issue right now without women in the BDF. Officer and Enlisted personnel have never been permitted to fraternize. Women would not be the ones getting the fraternization ball rolling. And even now, it constitutes many relationships other than sexual.
- **Myth 4:** “The time lost for pregnancy claim”. **Fact:** With the escalating rate of HIV/AIDS infection experienced by the BDF, many officers and soldiers miss work due to the sickness. Some take three months of sick leave. Compared to the number of soldiers who go on sick leave every year, the hours lost with maternity leave if we had women would be a minimal difference. Another example is the U.S. Navy case. “As far back as 1975 the Navy discovered that men lost 190,000 days to drugs rehabilitation and another 196,000 days to alcohol rehabilitation-almost twice the “time lost” by women to pregnancy”.⁴⁴

The above-mentioned myths briefly explain some of the thinking entertained by a general population of the U.S. and Botswana regarding issues of women in the military. What role can women fill in the modern Botswana Defence Force? On the surface, this seems a rather straightforward question. However, of course, there does continue to be

⁴¹ FY90-91 Spouse and Child Management, Department of Defense.

⁴² Holm, Jeanne, *Women In the Military-An Unfinished Revolution*, (Novato, CA: Presidio Press, 1992), p.462.

⁴³ Fraternization is defined as a personal relationship between an officer and enlisted member that has crossed the boundary of a senior-subordinate working relationship and does not respect differences in grade or rank. Such relationships are prejudicial to good order and discipline and violate long-standing traditions of the naval service.

⁴⁴ Francke, Linda Bird, *Ground Zero*, (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1997), p.109.

strong public interest, and in some parts of society, a very polarized and emotional debate on this question. More often than not, the question seems to boil down to whether or not women should be able to engage in combat. This is a particularly emotive issue that is not solely a matter of an individual's abilities or rights, but also, and more importantly I suspect, raises a question of societal values. In my mind, the guiding principle in the debate must be to seek the solution that enhances the combat capability of the Botswana Defence Force, and that is not a decision that the BDF can make alone. There is a cultural, social and institutional context needed to try to provide an answer to this issue; a fundamental one for every Motswana. This a fundamental question to be resolved as a national policy question.

What this chapter has clearly highlighted is that the role of women in Botswana society has changed overtime. Batswana women have proven themselves, and successfully so, in many sectors of the economy and society. The statistics presented emphasizes this point. The time has come to let women also prove their capability and effectiveness in the military arena and to be seen as positive role models for the next generation of young girls. It is only through giving women freedom of choice and de-stereotyping the types of jobs they can do and letting them provide their skills for the good of the nation that this can happen. With the many skills Batswana women possess, this could be a fulfilling dream for women in Botswana as well as a cost effective program for the government. This would be accomplished through integrating women who already have acquired skills like nursing, computer specialists, and so forth from the civilian institutions. Botswana Vision 2016 gives this dream a stronger foundation by specifically addressing the issue. It states,

No citizen of the future Botswana will be disadvantaged as a result of gender, age, religion, creed, color, national or ethnic origin, location, language, or political opinion. The future Botswana will have eradicated negative social attitudes towards the ***status and role of women***, the youth, the elderly and disabled, and will be free from all forms of sexual harassment.⁴⁵

The U.S. has had remarkable experience, both good and bad, regarding an integrated military from which the BDF can learn much. As compared to many Armed

⁴⁵ Vision 2016, p. 12.

Forces around the world, the U.S. Armed Forces is one of the most open, if not, the most open regarding women issues. Botswana Vision 2016 calls for an open, democratic and accountable nation. This vision should be reflected in the military. It bears parallel reflections with the ideals of the American and Botswana societies. American military women have played prominent roles in many operations such as the 1982 intervention in Grenada. Batswana women can also play significant roles in UN Peacekeeping and SADC regional missions, as the current trend in the region is peacekeeping. The U.S. Armed Forces, having learned from negative experiences, have put into place many clear and elaborate policies regarding the management of women that the BDF can examine and determine which ones could be applicable to its situation. It would be much better for the government, and the BDF, in particular, to craft regulations that are less conflicting with the constitution and thus avoiding the embarrassment of court orders or rulings such as those of the Israeli Defence Force.

I am confident that with proper guidance and intelligent policies regarding women in the BDF, we could be on the right path and that all our young Batswana in the future could stand proudly together shoulder-to-shoulder regardless of gender, to face the challenges of the modern world, to provide all Batswana with the security needed, and yet be able to have the satisfaction of knowing that their skills and talents are contributing to building a better Botswana and a better world.

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III. POLICY IMPLEMENTATION: RECRUITMENT, TRAINING, AND RETENTION OF WOMEN

The role of women in the military in recent years has been rapidly growing and changing at the same time. The introduction of women in the BDF will require policies regarding how the women will be recruited, trained and retained. The same recruitment procedures for servicemen are likely to apply to servicewomen, with adjustments, as deemed necessary, to take into account physiological differences. At the same time, the recruitment agenda will be driven by the plans and strategies the BDF has for utilizing women. The required number as well as the specific professions will be determined and guided by the roles they will be expected to play. Another important issue will be the creating of the policies regarding the training of women. Is there going to be a fully integrated recruit training with a common standard? If training is going to be fully integrated, how will it be conducted so that it does not lower the male standard (physiologically) or increase the female failure and attrition rates- neither of which is acceptable? Finally, policies regarding retaining the women will have to be put in place.

A. RECRUITMENT

1. What Shape is the Recruitment Policy Likely to Take: Policy versus Practice

There is no doubt that the initial recruitment of female soldiers will come with its own set of peculiar problems, and these problems will differ in magnitude and shape over the course of years as the BDF acquires experience in dealing with recurring issues. The success of this challenge of diversity is one critical to national security and must be done the right way from the start. There are certain concerns that warrant considerable attention if the element of “Doing it Right” is to be highly regarded by policy makers and the BDF. The main concern is the relationship between policy and how it will be implemented. New ideas are intimidating and difficult to predict, therefore, some within the chain of command (COC) are likely to resist or even work to undermine the implementation of a policy of this nature. It is very important to ensure that the government articulates a very clear policy that will be practical and effective to implement. Critical mechanisms to monitor genuine problems and address them have to be put in place. The progress in policy implementation has to be carefully monitored,

and the senior officers have to be seen as being owners of the project. "It is recognized that any policy can be successful only if senior officers believe in it and are seen to believe in it..."⁴⁶

Whatever posture the policy embraces regarding un-gendering the BDF, it is the military command's ethical responsibility to educate and point out certain distinct things about the military that, if not brought up, are likely to adversely affect the morale and esprit de corps of the military. In a civilian world, they might fit perfectly within the realm of Affirmative Action but because of the nature of the organization and duties of the military, this aspect of affirmative action should be ignored and the use of quotas should be prohibited. Dandeker and Segall note explicitly that any idea that imposes quotas in the military or relaxes training could be detrimental to unit cohesion as well as patronizing to female personnel.⁴⁷ Military leaders should be vocal about tolerating compromises in mission performances that result from lowered standards. Therefore, for the integration to be successful, the policy makers and the military (policy versus implementation) have to write a female recruitment policy with standards that will maintain a strong and relevant military.

Quotas also cheapen the efforts and accomplishments of those women who have the desire, as well as the ability, to serve in certain roles. You want the job then you will have to hack the standards.⁴⁸

2. Who Gets In

Before exploring the question of whom we want to recruit to join the BDF, we need to ask first what we intend to do? Do we have the potential resources to recruit women and have we developed realistic targets to achieve our objectives? What vacancies have we established that we intend to fill with women? From the start, the BDF has to be aware that it will need a different style or approach if we desire to attract high quality potential servicewomen, especially women officer candidates. The United States Army learned the hard way. In February 1943, the U.S. Army embarked on a

⁴⁶ Dandeker, C., Segall, M, Gender Integration in Armed Forces: Recent Policy Developments in the United Kingdom." *Armed Forces and Society*, Vol. 23, No. 1 (Fall 1996), p. 43.

⁴⁷Dandeker and Segall, p. 42.

⁴⁸ "Women in the Military: 2 Calls for Common Sense." August 8, 2000. *Defense and the National Interest*. Journal on-line. Available from <http://www.d-n-i.net/fcs/comments/c375.htm> Accessed February 24, 2003.

recruiting campaign with a target goal of 150,000 women. In February of the same year, recruiters had failed to meet their goal of 18,000 and only 12,000 were recruited. The numbers dwindled each month so that by March of 1944, they had only recruited 839 of the set goal of 27,000.⁴⁹ Army planners were baffled. This was the result of many problems but much centered on the fact that the Army did not have the right attitude or strategy to recruit women. Typical comments from enlisted women included: “The recruiting station was the dirtiest place I ever saw.” “It was in the post office basement next to the men’s toilets.” The recruiting station was staffed by men with a “draft mentality” and a macho attitude and was usually in the worst part of town.⁵⁰ To avoid these same problems and other problems associated with women recruitment, the BDF should have sufficient or reasonable resources in place to accommodate women.

Empirical evidence suggests that most armies employ women for certain duties that are neither combat nor frontline related. It is highly likely that the BDF will follow the same trend, and as a result, we are very likely to see servicewomen of the following character:

- Better educated
- High intellect
- Older (e.g. above the traditional recruiting age of 18-19 years)
- Experienced

The attitude towards the recruitment of women in the BDF should send a very clear message that there will be no double standards aimed at directly or indirectly hampering the BDF from looking for people with the desired aptitudes and skills to become part of it. This is not to say the army should ignore the effect that the inclusion of women will have on its cadres and that it will compel them to revisit certain recruiting policies. The BDF will definitely have to improve its current systems and practices for identifying and fulfilling recruiting requirements. They will have to put in place a plan that will provide direction on the number of women to be recruited. In order to induce some diversity to reflect Botswana’s demographic make-up, the implementation policy

⁴⁹ Holm, Jeanne, *Women in the Military: An Unfinished Revolution*, (Novato: Presidio Press, 1983), p. 46-7.

⁵⁰ Holm, Jeanne, p. 48.

will need more work and innovation. The plan has to convince potential servicewomen why joining the BDF should be viewed as an important profession as compared to civilian jobs of the same or better pay. In the U.S., the Cold War rallied recruits under the banner of fighting communism. What will be the convincing motto for potential BDF servicewomen?

B. TRAINING: GENDER INTEGRATED OR SEGREGATED

Should integration be done through co-ed basic training? What are the benefits and disadvantages of gender integrated versus gender-segregated training? The important concern here is that basic training, whether gender-separate or gender-integrated presents challenges. Most of these challenges revolve around the difficulties of providing appropriate privacy for both sexes and accommodating fundamental physiological differences, and controlling sexual conduct, a concern clearly articulated by Anita K. Blair in her testimony to the Subcommittee on Military Personnel of the House Armed Service Committee on 17 March 1999.⁵¹ The U.S. Armed Services have gone back and forth struggling with this issue, trying to determine whether the benefit of gender-integrated training outweighs the costs. In recent years, all three U.S. services, except the Marine Corps, have eliminated separate basic training. Both gender integrated training and gender segregated training have their merits, which I would now discuss.

Gender segregated training is often looked upon by gender segregationists as a way of presenting to young men and women recruits female instructors that are role models. For women it also removes the stereotypes that only men can be authority figures. They see strong female role models in not only control of them and their group, but also positively interacting with other male instructors. Gender segregated training provides an environment free from latent or overt sexual pressure, thereby enabling recruits the opportunity to focus on and absorb, military standards of behavior.

Additionally gender segregated training takes into consideration the difference in physical strength and endurance between male and female recruits. Due to strength and

⁵¹ Testimony of Anita K. Blair to Subcommittee on Military Personnel of the House Armed Service Committee on Gender-Integrated and Gender-Segregated Training, 17, March 1999. Anita Blair is the President of the Independent Women's Forum (IWF). In April 1998, she was elected chairperson of the ten members, bipartisan Congressional Commission on Military Training and Gender Related Issues. The House established the Commission to study such cross-gender issues as gender integrated training.

endurance differences, initial physical fitness standards are different for male and female recruits. Finally, integrated recruit training with a common standard would result in either lowering the standards or increasing the female failure/attrition rates- neither of which is acceptable.

On the other token, the case of gender integrated training is often built on the “train as we fight” thesis which argues that men and women should train in gender integrated units because that is the way they will fight. In gender integrated training both male and female are taught and led by male and female instructors. Both male and female are exposed to a gender-integrated chain of command and the professional conduct between male and female leaders in action at a very early stage. The objective is for both male and female soldiers to see themselves as members of the same team, committed to performing the same tough duties, mentally and physically, in the same demanding environment. From that experience, they develop an appreciation of each other as professionals.

Looking at the situation of the BDF and drawing from the experiences of the United States, which way should the BDF go? Should it go the U.S. Marine Corps way or the U.S. Army way? Our ultimate decision as a different armed force will be determined by the assessment of our nation’s long-term and cultural values.

1. The Integrationists Argument

The eruption of the media frenzy over the sexual harassment cases in the U.S., (e.g. the trial of the top enlisted Army soldier Sgt. Maj. McKinney, Tailhook, and sexual scandals at the Army advanced training base in Aberdeen) have had a very marked effect on the debate of un-gendering military basic training.⁵² Such cases have given the critics of gender integration a platform to convincingly contest that the decade long effort to integrate women fully in basic training has gone too far. Opponents of integration argue that it is distracting for the young recruits and lowers the standards. According to Point of View, a radio talk show with Marlim Maddoux, some policy experts believe that the readiness problems that face the military can be attributed to gender-integrated officer

⁵² In 1996, Army drill sergeants at Aberdeen Proving Grounds in Maryland were charged with rape, abuse, and harassment of female soldiers under their supervision.

and enlisted basic training, and are calling on President Bush to end them.⁵³ In the same Point of View Talk Show, Representative Roscoe Bartlett (R-Md), a high-ranking member of the House Armed Services Committee, was also very critical of the co-ed basic training. During the panel's discussions, he said:

There is not a single woman that plays professional football or professional baseball, [NBA] basketball and even in the genteel sport of tennis, you do not find men and women playing against each other. It is simply because God made men and women different.⁵⁴

Jack Spenser, writing for the ultra-conservative Heritage Foundation, stated that gender-integrated basic training has failed and is continuing to fail in America. He claims that it has failed because numerous studies have shown that it results in lowered standards, increased misconduct, and declining morale.

a. Problems with Integrated Training

- Higher rates of disciplinary problems occur in integrated housing. Many drill sergeants complain that they spend a lot time on disciplinary cases related to co-ed training thus distracting them and the recruits from training objectives. In basic training, the rules need to be clear. In an integrated training setting what is “sexual” and what is merely friendly is unclear. Discipline erodes when the rules are vague and ambiguous.
- Lower physical training standards. In many cases, male instructors have been observed applying different physical training standards to female recruits than to male recruits because they fear sexual harassment charges. They are unfamiliar with all regulations that apply to females and do not believe that women can meet the same standards as men.
- “No Talk No Touch”. Probably the most demanding and challenging task facing male trainers in co-ed basic training is to prevent improper sexual contact among recruits. This leads to a “no talk no touch” policy. According to the Kassebaum-Baker Committee, recruits are taught that looking at a female for more than three seconds constitutes sexual harassment.⁵⁵

⁵³ Pierce, Jason. 2001. “Co-Ed Basic Training Hurts Military, Experts Say.” *Point of View Radio Talk Show with Marlin Maddaux*. Journal on-line. Available from http://www.pointofview.net/ar_coed.html Accessed February 24, 2003.

⁵⁴ Ibid.

⁵⁵ Department of Defense. 1997. “Federal Advisory Committee on Gender-Integrated Training and Related Issues Report (the Kassebaum-Baker Committee Report).” *Defense Link*. Available from <http://www.defenselink.mil/pubs/git/> Accessed February 24, 2003.

2. What Are the Integrationists Saying

On the other hand, integrationists claim that gender integrated training is one of the great success stories of all time. Most of them contest that it does the opposite of what gender anti-integration critics claim. Anti-integrationists, for example, claim that integration creates morale problems, but gender integration builds the cohesion and teamwork needed among operating forces. Since women are part of the integrated units, integrationists claim they have to train together with men and get used to being with each other since after they graduate they will be working together. The former U.S. Army Chief of Staff and the U.S. Air Force senior enlisted member had these comments about integration:

Many of today's policies trace their roots to decisions I made while serving as the Army Chief of Staff. I based my decision to integrate the genders during basic training on unbiased study results. Young men and women, entering the Army from an environment where the genders are certainly mixed, training to serve in an environment where the genders will be routinely mixed, do not benefit from a brief period of artificial separation. The course on which I set the Army several years ago was the right one.⁵⁶

*General Gordon R. Sullivan, USA (retired), former Army Chief of Staff
Letter to Representative Marty Meehan, May 15, 1998*

Nobody has shown us where we have not done the mission. Whether it is the Army, the Navy, the Air Force or the Marines, everything we have been asked to do, we have done. And we have done it with men and women serving together. I am confounded as to what the problem is.⁵⁷

Chief Master Sergeant of the Air Force Eric W. Benken, USAF

Gender integration proponents argue that segregated training is a step backward since anti-integrationists have not presented any tangible or credible facts regarding the negative impact of integrated training. They, on the other hand, argue their points and support them with statistics to show why they support integrated training. Lieutenant Colonel Karen Johnson, for example, criticized the report of a civilian panel appointed by the Pentagon that indicated “sexual harassment” was one of the important reasons for

⁵⁶ General Gordon R. Sullivan. 1998. “Letter to Representative Marty Meehan”. *Alliance for National Defense*. Journal on-line. Available from <http://www.all4nationaldefense.org/mediareleases.html> Accessed February 24, 2003.

⁵⁷ Ibid.

advocating segregated training. Lt. Col. Johnson said; “the military problem of sexual harassment has nothing to do with integrated training and everything to do with a failure of leadership to walk the walk of zero tolerance for abuse of power”⁵⁸

3. Which Way BDF

With all the arguments that are often presented by both anti-integrationists and gender integration spokespersons, it makes it very difficult to make lucid decisions as to which elements of training outweigh the costs. A small army with limited resources, like the BDF, would find it more efficient to rely on integrated training because separation is expensive. There are always mechanisms that can be put in place to augment the fissures created by integrated training as compared to the needs of segregated training. The BDF would be in a better position in the end to adopt the integrated system. I believe there are many things that can help shape the attitude of the entire BDF towards women if they are integrated into basic training. Both sexes will be in a better position because they live next to each other on a daily basis and can learn a lot about working with each other. By integrating them, the army will start from the beginning to teach soldiers to relate and to rely upon each other professionally. It would be more effective to start classroom instructions with how males and females should relate to one another professionally, thus eliminating future mishaps that are gender related. Living and associating with each other on a professional level will prepare trainees for future challenges including various controversial gender issues like rules on fraternization, sexual harassment and misconduct. Trainees can only effectively understand and consistently practice appropriate conduct (male/female) when they are exposed to the situation on an ongoing basis. Trainees, from the beginning, should see and understand the tough punishment that is enforced regarding sexual misconduct. Therefore, from the moment they leave training, join the officer and enlisted cadres, they will definitely be in a better position for knowing where to draw the line.

The physical fitness arena is another aspect that will pose a great challenge to the BDF in the future. This will be a problem if the results of a physical training test are going to be used as a prerequisite for promotion or any kind of a reward. This continues

⁵⁸ Johnson, Karen, *National Organization for Women (NOW)*, December 17, 1997. Lt. Col Karen Johnson is the leader of NOW.

to be a persistent issue in the U.S. Armed Services. In a paper given at a conference held in Washington, D.C. December 10-11, 1998, Carol Cohn said; “One important element of Physical Training (PT) protest which makes it the golden standard protest is that it can appear to be the requirements of the job, a question of whether women deserve an equal place if they can’t perform as well.”⁵⁹ It is common knowledge that many armed forces around the world have different PT standards for men and women and it is more than likely that the BDF will follow this norm. Unfortunately, these different standards have fueled the perception that women are less capable, with comments such as, “how can she claim equal rights when she doesn’t have to do as many push-ups as I do? How can she claim to be equal when she can’t run as fast?”⁶⁰ Why is it a potential problem for the BDF? These views feed the notion that women are not as capable physically and therefore cannot perform to standards in the field.

Many young soldiers regard different PT standards for men and women as special treatment for women and lowering the standards for the military. Nevertheless, what they fail to recognize and acknowledge, is that physiologically, male and female performance, on the average, will always differ. Interestingly, the contestants of this perceived notion are never willing to see it as lowering the standards when the same standards for men are different for men of different age categories. The issue is that the differences in standards are not a matter of male and female biases, but a matter of physiological differences between humans. It is just as true that women have greater flexibility than men do, and men have stronger muscles than women do, and younger soldiers can run faster than can older soldiers.

The BDF’s approach to this issue of PT in integrated training should be aimed at “stretching”, not breaking down trainees. It is possible to impose uniform physical task standards to stretch most male trainees without breaking female trainees.

4. Making Integrated Training Effective and Attainable

In order for the BDF to have successful integrated gender training, certain organizational changes and issues affecting the effectiveness of the overall program must

⁵⁹ Cohn, Carol, *The Framing of Opposition to Women’s Equality in the Military*; Women In Uniform, A Conference held in Washington, D.C., December 10-11, 1998.

⁶⁰ Cohn, Carol, p. 1.

be addressed. Some of the critical changes called for by the Federal Advisory Committee on Integrated Training in their December 16, 1997 report could be relevant to the BDF situation and they include the following:⁶¹

a. Basic Training Organization

- Have early infusion of female instructors at the beginning of integrated basic training.
- Have separate male and female trainees' barracks.
- Have good balanced integrated platoons and companies and avoid having male or female only groups.

b. Instructors

- Have female instructors and plan on increasing them gradually. The magic number will depend on how many female recruits the BDF intend to have on a yearly basis.
- Have a thorough screening of instructors before selection to determine if they have a prior history of sexual harassment or any sexually related cases.
- Clarify an instructor's authority from the beginning.

c. Training and Professional Requirements

- Toughen basic training requirements and enforce consistent standards for male and female trainees.
- Provide instruction on how males and females should relate to each other professionally.
- Have policies that prohibit disparaging references based on gender.
- Teach consistent rules concerning fraternization.
- Enforce tough punishment for sexual harassment and misconduct as well as for false accusations.

C. RETENTION

Ensuring that an effective and dynamic female retention program is put in place in the BDF from the start could prove to be very cost effective as well as critical to the sustainment function of the personnel life cycle. As one might expect, retaining men who are trained in some technical skills currently presents a great challenge for the BDF and it would be an even greater challenge for women who might come with greater

⁶¹ Department of Defense. 1997. "Report of the Federal Advisory Committee On Gender Integrated Training and Related Issues to the Secretary of Defense". *Defense Link*. Available from <http://www.defenselink.mil/pub/git/report.html> Accessed February 24, 2003.

expectations. The BDF has an obligation to focus its retention efforts on the women who have the right skills and grades to make sure that they are retained at sufficient levels to keep the BDF ready to fulfill its national commitments.

The retention of women in developed nations such as Canada and the United States has proven to be very challenging for a variety of reasons that are also very applicable to the Botswana environment. In the United States, for example, women leave the military early at a higher percentage rate than men: 47% of the Army's enlisted women are gone before the end of three years, despite having signed up for terms averaging four years. The men's rate is 28%. These rates are highest for white females and lowest for Asian/Pacific Islander and African American women. While two of the main reasons for leaving are the same for men and women, men also leave because of misconduct while only women leave due to pregnancy.⁶² Because of this attrition, the services lose a substantial investment in training, time, equipment, and related expenses. According to a report by the United States General Accounting Office, it costs the services between \$9,400 and \$13,500 in fixed and variable costs to recruit and train an active-duty enlistee through basic training.⁶³ Considering that basic recruit training for U.S. services runs between 6-8 weeks, and that for BDF the basic training for enlisted is six months and 12 months for officers, the costs could be much higher. Some of the issues raised by the General Accounting Office as significant contributors to this high attrition rate are; 1) the services' screening of applicants for disqualifying medical conditions is inadequate and (2) recruits fail to perform adequately because they are in poor physical condition when they report for basic training or lack motivation.

The Botswana government does not have disposable income to experiment with clear and straightforward issues. Therefore, the BDF command must do all in their power to attract the best women to their ranks, train and educate those women so that they can carry out the mission objectives demanded of them. They must also retain the best of those women in the units, and just like their male counterparts, promote those who deserve it, and weed out those who are incapable.

⁶² Fact Sheet on Women in the Unites States Military. December 1999. *Y& M Online*. Available from http://www.afsc.org/youthmil/html/news/dec99/womil_p1.htm Accessed February 24, 2003.

⁶³ Military Attrition: Better Screening of Enlisted Personnel Could Save DOD Millions of Dollars (Testimony, 03/05/97, GAO/T-NSIAD-97-102).

1. Why Women Stay in the Military

It is actually very interesting to explore the reasons given by U.S. service women as to why they opt to stay and make the military a long-term part of their lives. Below are some of the comments made by women, both enlisted and officer, who are still active duty or have retired from the military. Some of their anecdotes are contrary to many common myths and beliefs often espoused about women in the military. These comments are worthy to note as they are not far fetched and could be the same as those that could be anticipated from potential servicewomen of the BDF. They are comments that can add value to the policies that the BDF will make with regard to retention of its service women.

a. Believing in Self

I believe that I am just as good as even better than many of my counterparts (male and female). I am good and don't need anyone else to tell me.⁶⁴

This statement should echo as a warning to the BDF that women want to feel good and important and contribute to the service. Therefore, they would definitely expect the BDF to recognize their abilities as it has done for their male counterparts.

b. Looking for Something More Exciting

I wanted better opportunities. I wanted an adventure. Watch what you ask for because you will probably get it. I simply wanted to have fun FUN! Which I did. I am a Gunnery Sergeant now. I no longer look at the Marine Corps as "FUN". It is now my life. I want to be the best Leader I can be.⁶⁵

Women who would enter the BDF, just like their male counterparts, would do so because they want something different, something challenging and something adventurous. Based on the current professionalism and training challenges in the BDF, I certainly believe those who would volunteer to join regard themselves as tough, daring and smarter than ordinary women. Therefore, the BDF will not only be dealing with ordinary women, but also some of the best or those who consider themselves the best both intellectually and physically. These will be the types of women who are looking for

⁶⁴ Military Women Home Page. "Why Women Leave the Military." Available from <http://www.militarywoman.org/whyleave.htm> Accessed on February 24, 2003.

⁶⁵ Ibid.

challenging opportunities. The BDF has the obligation to provide as many challenging jobs as possible. It will be important to give them exciting challenges rather than just desk or administrative jobs. Otherwise, there is no incentive for them to join the BDF since those types of jobs are available everywhere in the civilian world and perhaps even at better pay levels.

c. Careerists and/or Opportunists

It seemed so exciting, and everyone always looked so good in their uniform. I had to make a decent living for my 2-year old daughter and myself. Reasons to stay once I was there:

Equal pay for equal work, great educational benefits, great medical benefits housing allowance, uniform allowance, food allowance (tax free), and friends all around the world, job security and the chance to excel and be recognized for it⁶⁶

The above statement shows there are many who join for the wrong reasons. They might meet all the prerequisite of good soldiering, but they do not really have soldering in their hearts. All the benefits that are mentioned are reflective of what you find in the BDF today. These benefits are meant to make the soldier more comfortable so they are able to perform their tasks with fewer distractions but not to lure them in the military and turn them into careerist rather than professional soldiers.

d. Patriotism

As a young girl I remember John F. Kennedy asking, “not what can my country do for me, but what can I do for my country”. Every morning when I get up, I am proud to put on my uniform. I joined the Air Force because I love my country, and I am grateful that I live in a place that gives both men and women the opportunity to protect the freedom that so many people take for granted.⁶⁷

Many women share the same desires about protecting their country as men. They look at the military as a vocation and they like doing what they know best in the military. Judith Hicks Stiehm described this feeling when she wrote about women in the military by naming her book “It’s Our Military Too.”⁶⁸

⁶⁶ Ibid.

⁶⁷ Ibid.

⁶⁸ Stiehm, Judith, *It’s Our Military Too*. (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1996).

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IV. CHALLENGES: CONTINUING THE JOURNEY INTO THE FUTURE

Chapter II aimed at justifying the integration of women into the BDF, focusing mainly on the changing roles of women in Botswana society and arguing that for BDF to reflect these societal changes, it should integrate women into its cadre. Chapter III was more optimistic in that it looked at a position now where the legislature has passed a law authorizing integration. It examined the issues surrounding the process of integrating women, that is, the policies which need to be geared toward recruitment, training and retention. This chapter centers on the mechanisms that need to be put in place to manage the integration once it has been activated. It will examine the policies in place in the various armed services of the U.S. and the Canadian Forces (CF) and why and how the BDF can adopt them. The intent is not to examine all the policies, but to select those critical policies that could easily be adoptable by the BDF.

When Lieutenant General Louis Fisher assumed command of the BDF in 1998 from Lieutenant General Seretse Khama Ian Khama, he was faced with the new and complex challenge of leading the 21-year-old defense force into the 21st century.⁶⁹ In his manuscript, *“Challenge: Continuing the Journey into the Future”* which he wrote shortly after he assumed command, he envisioned building an officers’ corps equipped with essential managerial tools--interpersonal, analytical and communicative skills. To him, this reflected the challenges in continuing the journey of his predecessors into the future. To continue this “journey into the future” he immediately embarked on moderate reforms in the BDF aimed at putting the young defense force on par with the contemporary trends of a *postmodern military*.⁷⁰ One of these challenges, though not categorically labeled in his rhetoric, but which can be included in broad aspects of the journey, is the challenge

⁶⁹ Lieutenant General Louis Fisher is the incumbent commander of the Botswana Defence Force. “He saw his challenge as continuing the journey into the future by building on the solid foundation laid by his predecessors, Lieutenant General Mompatti Merafhe and Lieutenant General Seretse Khama Ian Khama.”

⁷⁰ Postmodern Military according to Moskos, Williams and Segal in *The Postmodern Military* is: When the military by contrast, undergoes a loosening of the nation state. The basic format shifts toward a volunteer force, more multipurpose in mission, increasingly androgynous in make up and ethos, and with greater permeability with civilian society. His reforms were destined to drive the force into the military challenges of the 21st century. The reforms ranged from re-equipping the BDF with modern war machinery capable of fighting the future wars of the 21st century, to physically, mentally and technically training an officers’ and NCOs corps capable of manning and operating this machinery.

associated with the integration of women. When General Fisher talks about preparation for the future, he says; “the idea is not to let the flood catch you without a wall. We have to be able to mentally go into the future”.⁷¹

The clock is ticking and it is a matter of time before the legislature will direct the BDF to start including women in its cadres and as General Fisher said, the BDF has to be mentally prepared to go into the future. We have to accept it as reality and begin preparing for this transition and be able to face the challenges it brings. These challenges are related to exploring better and more efficient policies for including and managing servicewomen. One way of looking at these challenges, which this thesis will address, is examining policies regarding women in other countries, particularly the U.S. and Canada. These two countries have good women management policies in place in their armed forces. The BDF should not have a difficult time adopting, with modification, these policies. The Canadian model has some bearing and is being utilized as an example in this thesis because Canada possesses a model of a combined U.S.-British system. This is beneficial because Botswana was a British colony and still has many of the British characteristics embedded in its socio-economic and political system. Many issues will need to be addressed but this thesis will only concentrate on policies regarding *sexual harassment, fraternization, equal opportunity, and assignment of women, family care, and management of pregnant women*. These six issues are the main points of contention in many armed forces around the world today. The choice of the U.S. and Canada as candidates for discussion stems from the fact that these two countries have taken very aggressive and positive steps in addressing these issues. The U.S., in particular, because of the many negative experiences it has endured, and how it has addressed and continues to address the issues can be a learning experience for the BDF.

A. POLICIES ON SEXUAL HARASSMENT

It is beyond the scope and aim of this thesis to discuss in detail the contents of the U.S. policies regarding sexual harassment. This thesis will, however, attempt to give a structural framework by providing significant highlights of the U.S. Naval policy as well as list of references applicable to the subject.

⁷¹ Ibid.

1. Legislative Reference

Title VII (7) of the U.S. Civil Rights Act of 1964.

DISCRIMINATION BECAUSE OF RACE, COLOR, RELIGION, SEX, OR NATIONAL ORIGIN

SEC. 703. (a) It shall be an unlawful employment practice for an employer--

(1) To fail or refuse to hire or to discharge any individual, or otherwise to discriminate against any individual with respect to his compensation, terms, conditions, or privileges of employment, because of such individual's race, color, religion, sex, or national origin; or

(2) To limit, segregate, or classify his employees in any way that would deprive or tend to deprive any individual of employment opportunities or otherwise adversely affect his status as an employee, because of such individual's race, color, religion, sex, or national origin.

The above definitions given by Title VII (7) of the U.S. Civil Rights Act of 1964 explain or demonstrate that the policies put in place by the U.S. Armed Forces are founded on the principle of Title VII. Therefore, regulations put in place by all the services should have to be on par or should not deviate from the principles enshrined in Title VII.

Lesson I: This stands as a good starting point or lesson for the BDF because as it rethinks the shape its regulations will take, it has to consider certain statutory contents of various legal documents. The starting point will be the interpretation of the Constitution, the wording of the Botswana Public Service Act, Botswana General Order regarding policies relating to women in the public service and clarification on the extent to which the Public Service Act affects BDF members. It would also be wise to examine certain regional and international protocols and treaties such as the Platform for Action, adopted by the Fourth World Conference on Women held in Beijing in 1995 of which Botswana is a signatory. The Botswana Vision 2016 should be the main guiding yardstick in measuring these proposed policies.

2. U.S. Navy and DOD Policy References

The DoD and the U.S. Navy have issued various policies and guidelines regarding sexual harassment, all within the scope of Title VII (7) of the Civil Rights Act of 1964. Some of the important publications include:

a. DOD INST 1350.2 DOD Military Equal Opportunity Program of 23 Dec 88

This directive regulates the Department of Defense Military Equal Opportunities (MEO) Program and assigns responsibilities for ensuring DoD-wide compliance with the broad program objectives outlined in the DoD Human Goals Charter, signed by the Secretary of Defense, Deputy Secretary of Defense, Secretaries of the Military Departments, Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, and Service Chiefs, May 19, 1994, Secretary of Defense Memorandum, "Equal Opportunity (EO)," March 3, 1994 and Secretary of Defense Memorandum, "Prohibition of Sexual Harassment in the Department of Defense (DoD)," "August 22, 1994.

It provides for education and training in EEO and human relations.

Lesson II: To provide for the above-mentioned education and training in EO and human relations, the BDF could conduct a variety of workshops and customized training options on the broad topic of EEO law. That is, if the government, passes the integration law and spells out exactly how the issue of equal opportunity needs to be addressed. The programs should be targeted toward the specialized needs of the various levels of management in the BDF. Some workshops focusing on legal matters, such as the obligations of the BDF and interpretations of legislation and guidelines, will do great justice to the defense force. It will be even more critical to teach the skills and awareness needed for informed compliance (e.g., EEO selection and performance management, complaint handling, prevention of harassing behaviors and hostile work environments). In all these settings, the leadership of the BDF, at all levels, will need to understand how EEO requirements affect the organizational culture of the BDF, policies, procedures and daily operations. The focal point will be to give all levels of BDF leadership at all levels the understanding and tools they need to abide by the law and develop inclusive practices and policies that will benefit the servicewomen.

b. U.S. Navy Regulations, 1990, article 1166

This regulation prohibits sexual harassment. No individual in the department of the Navy should:

- Commit sexual harassment.
- Take reprisal action against a person who provides information on an incident of alleged sexual harassment.
- Knowingly make an accusation of sexual harassment; or
- While in a supervisory or command position, condone or ignore sexual harassment of which he or she has knowledge or has reason to have knowledge.

Lesson III: This regulation stands out as it will help emphasize what should be included in the amendment of the BDF regulations and demonstrates what is really entailed in the principle of prohibition. U.S. Navy Regulation, 1990, Article 1166 emphasizes four distinct variables: *zero tolerance to sexual harassment, action against the implicated culprits, false accusations, and leadership response*. These variables will be critical for the BDF when formulating the sexual harassment policy. The new or revised rules/regulations of the BDF relating to conduct and discipline should include rules/regulations prohibiting sexual harassment and provide for appropriate penalties against the offenders.

c. SECNAVINST 5300.26A. Department of the Navy Policy on Sexual Harassment

Defines sexual harassment, illustrates behaviors that may constitute sexual harassment with green, yellow and red zones used to provide a model for identifying various levels and the seriousness of sexual harassment behavior, and outlines required training.

RED means, “**Stop! Don't do it!**” Red zone behavior is always unacceptable and includes asking for sexual favors in return for a good performance evaluation, making supervisory decisions because of a person's race or gender, or sending hate mail. The most severe forms of red zone behavior are clearly criminal, including rape or sexual assault.

Yellow means, “**Use caution, Prepare for red.**” Yellow zone behavior is regarded as inappropriate by most people and includes making racial, ethnic or sexual

comments or jokes; violating personal space; or touching someone in a sexually suggestive manner. How yellow behavior is perceived depends on the situation and the individuals involved.

Green means “**Go it's all right.**” Green zone behavior is acceptable and includes normal social interaction, polite compliment, touching which could not reasonably be perceived in a sexual or threatening way and friendly conversation.

Lesson IV: The U.S. Navy’s SECNAVINST 5300.26A is a good starting point for a foundation of a good sexual harassment policy. It demonstrates that to even start thinking of what constitute sexual harassment, the BDF has to have its own definition of sexual harassment. As mentioned earlier, when writing these definitions, they should not derail or be contrary to the government statute’s definition of the term(s) or otherwise there will be future problems when conflicts between the parties involved arise. The laws of the land take precedence over the regulations of the institutions. Therefore, the definition should be within the realm of the nation’s laws. What constitutes sexual harassment in the U.S. might not constitute sexual harassment in Botswana. Cultural differences will influence the definitions. There might be even slight differences between the definition of the government and the BDF when the military culture is taken in consideration. Sexual harassment is the most difficult type of employment discrimination to decipher and to handle. Sexual harassment targets the most intimate and confusing aspect of human existence: sexuality. Sexual harassment these days is not so easily detected. With all the press about sexual harassment in the past few years, the act has gone from being direct and obvious to adapting a more indirect and harder to discern approach.

d. SECNAVINST 5370.5A DoD/Navy Hotline Program

This DOD and Navy program represents significant corrective mechanisms to be used in the effort to combat fraud, waste, mismanagement and related improprieties. Prompt, responsive and impartial action will be taken to examine substantive allegations, to pursue corrective measures in accordance with the laws, regulations and directives, and to report the result of each inquiry via the chain of command.

Lesson V: The SECNAVINST 5370.5A DoD/Navy Hotline Program

is a good lesson for the BDF. It is good in the sense that the same concept can easily be put in place by the BDF to combat or prevent sexual harassment, as well as construct mechanisms through which to report such cases. Every individual will be in a position to know his/her responsibility with regard to reporting questionable sexual conduct promptly, and the complaint procedure and the organization will be pressured to handle the investigations in a prompt, efficient and consistent manner.

e. *Report on the Committee on Women's Issues, United States Naval Academy Board of Visitors October 1990*

In the fall of 1989, as part of an Army-Navy week prank, a female Midshipman was chained to a urinal and jeered by a number of male Midshipmen. The male Midshipmen responsible for this act were restricted and given letters of reprimand as punishment. The female Midshipman resigned and revealed all to the press. The critics castigated the Academy administration for not taking the event seriously and not linking it to a sexual harassment act rather than a prank.

As an outgrowth of these allegations, a series of official investigation and unofficial inquiries were initiated. One or more investigations revealed that a number of minority Midshipmen believed that they had been unfairly dismissed from the Academy. The 1990 report "The Committee on Women's Issues," headed by Senator Barbara Mikulski, developed the following findings and recommendations:

- There is room for improvement in the integration of women.
- There are structural impediments to the assimilation of women... cultural prejudice affects the Academy.
- Breakdown in civility and discipline contributes to sexual harassment at the Academy.
- The Honor Code lacks clarity, consistency, and just application.
- Investigation of the incident involving the Midshipman chained to the urinal was insufficiently sensitive to sexual harassment issues.
- Assimilation of women at the Academy lags behind that of the Navy.

Recommendations:

- Adopt the recommendations of the committee.
- Discipline sexual discrimination cases severely.

- Reinvigorate a simpler and clearer Honor Code and conduct system.
- Provide more women officers as role models.
- Regularly brief the Board of Visitors on cases of sexual, racial or ethnic harassment and discrimination.⁷²

Lesson VI: There are three critical lessons that the BDF can draw from the above case study of the U.S. Navy-week prank. *First*, the contemporary definition of sexual harassment has become subjective. Anything committed against females by male counterparts is liable to be described as being sexual when it reaches becomes distasteful to females. The BDF should be aware that what has been traditionally regarded as acceptable military practice can suddenly be regarded as sexually provocative acts. The above US. Navy case demonstrates this as the Academy administration was criticized for not taking the event seriously and not linking the incident to an act of sexual harassment rather than looking at it as a prank. *Secondly*, as the Report of the Committee on Women's Issues, the United States Naval Academy Board of Visitors October 1990 stated; “there are structural impediments to the assimilation of women ... cultural prejudice affects the Academy”. The same type of comments should be expected since the new BDF would be emerging from an all male organization. *Finally*, the BDF should understand that it could be subject to external scrutiny by government mechanisms for ensuring that it is complying with published rules, practices and standards pertaining to the integration of women. This is very likely because Botswana subscribes to democratic ideals and it is one of the manners in which “checks and balances” are found in a democratic setting.

3. Policy Overview: Tailhook Case

It is impossible to try to cover all the details of the sexual harassment policies of the United States Armed Forces or even just one service, nonetheless; it is worthy to note that the episodes of Tailhook played a significant part in the changes that occurred in the sexual harassment policies of the U.S. Armed Forces.

a. *What is the Tailhook Association*

A private organization, the Tailhook Association, is comprised of active duty, Reserve and retired Navy and Marine Corps aviators, defense contractors, and

⁷² United States Office of the Chief of Naval Operations, Navy Women's Study Group, *An Update Report on the Progress of Women in the Navy*, 1990.

others.⁷³ The first symposium took place in Tijuana, Mexico in 1956 as a reunion of naval aviators. In 1963, the conference moved to Las Vegas and added a number of professional development activities to its agenda. Official Navy support for the symposium grew, and the Office of the Assistant Chief of Naval Operations conducted the planning for the official function. The Navy provided free office space for the Association in Miramar, California, and used its passenger aircraft fleet to transport attendees to Las Vegas. Annual Tailhook Conventions have provided a unique professional exchange between Navy leadership, industry, and the largest assembled group of rank and file Navy aviators.

b. Tailhook Association Convention, September 1991: What Happened?

What happened at the 1991 Tailhook Convention is one of the most appalling incidents that still haunt the U.S. Navy to this day. The DoD Inspector General investigative activity to date, has confirmed more than isolated instances of men exposing themselves, women baring their breasts, the shaving of women's legs in pubic areas, and women drinking from dildos that dispensed alcoholic beverages. In addition, the Navy investigations confirmed the existence of a "gauntlet."⁷⁴ The touching ranged from consensual pats on the breasts and buttocks to violent grabbing and groping.⁷⁵

The revelation of appalling conduct by some members of the U.S. Navy started when Lt. Paula Coughlin, an admiral's aide and helicopter pilot in the United States Navy, sued the Hilton Hotel for failing to provide adequate security against sexual harassment at the Tailhook Convention in Las Vegas, a gathering of U.S. naval officers. She also sued the Tailhook Association, which settled out of court. The charges of sexual misconduct at the Tailhook Convention ended the careers of several Navy officers, and resulted in changes of policy within the U.S. military. Coughlin's action forced the Navy to recognize the continual sexual harassment, rape, and assaults that women in the Navy had been enduring but which the Navy had ignored or hushed up. The other military

⁷³ The name 'Tailhook' comes from the device that halts aircraft when they land on aircraft carriers.

⁷⁴ The gauntlet was a loosely formed group of men who lined the corridor outside the hospitality suites generally in the later hours of each of the three nights of the convention and "touched" women who passed down the corridor.

⁷⁵ Department of Defense, Office of Inspector General, Tailhook 91, Part 1- Review of the Navy Investigations, September, 1992.

organizations likewise sat up and took notice--a long overdue first step in rectifying a shameful situation. The policies highlighted below provide a good understanding of the application and/or definition of critical aspects of the subjects.

c. Lessons to be learned from the 1991 Tailhook Convention

It is always important and career enriching to have professional associations like Tailhook, but the Tailhook case should be a learning experience for the BDF. The BDF has a moral obligation to learn from and teach its young officers and soldiers the experiences of other militaries. Associations such as Tailhook can present positive opportunities or can become a breeding ground for loose and inappropriate behavior since the environment itself is inviting and/or different from normal daily work interactions. With the integration of women in the BDF and their affiliation to less formal environments (e.g. associations such as Tailhook), a window of opportunity for the deeper military culture dilemma can unfold. Therefore, the BDF has to be in a position to monitor closely the mixed gender associations affiliated with it. There will be a need to be more vigilant or even have guiding principles on the conduct of business when female servicewomen are in contact with their male counterparts in such a loose environment. The command has to be up-to-date with exactly what is happening in such associations and, if need be, disburse accountable senior officers to the activities of the association.

Another great lesson to be learned from the 'Tailhook 91' incident is that people, especially women, when they join the BDF, should be treated with dignity and respect. To demonstrate that, the BDF has to emphasize to its members that they need to be committed to the principles of integrity and high moral conduct and character that are a part of its traditions. The Tailhook incident also brings to the surface lessons about how the BDF should be careful with any outlaw military cultures, convoluted chains of command, widespread service alcoholism, and the place of women in the military. All of these combined create a very complex web that will pose a great challenge once women are integrated in the BDF.

4. Sexual Harassment as Defined by the U.S. Army Review Panel

a. Report on Sexual Harassment

Sexual harassment is a form of sex discrimination that involves unwelcome sexual advances, requests for sexual favors, and other verbal or physical conduct of a sexual nature when:

- Submission to such conduct is made either explicitly or implicitly a term or condition of a person's job, pay, or career, or
- Submission to or rejection of such conduct by a person is used as a basis for career, or
- Such conduct has the purpose or effect of unreasonable interference with an individual's work performance or creates an intimidating, hostile, or offensive working environment.⁷⁶

b. Leadership

Sexual harassment is often one of the myths which anti-integrationists use to support their argument as to why gender integration in the BDF is not a good idea. Their main contention is that women cause sexual harassment. In the U.S., for example, it is not uncommon to hear comments such as "women in the military cause scandals like Tailhook that embarrass our country". However, the fact of the matter is, their argument has boomeranged on the reputation of male service members. The question many critics raise is, that if that is the case, does that mean male service members are not capable of controlling themselves around women? The answer is not to isolate men who are inclined to sexually abuse, demean or harass women, but to take stern action against violators of the established policy. This is a question of leadership. Leadership is an important key in eliminating all forms of unlawful discrimination and must become the cornerstone for eliminating sexual harassment. Denying women the opportunity to serve their country on the basis that "women cause sexual harassment" is only getting eliminating the symptom not the cause. The goal must be to change the behavior, not blame the victim.

Another myth that must be dispelled is that "women will use their sexuality to obtain preferential treatment or avoid demanding duty." This is an excuse for laziness and is stereotypical. The truth is not just women in particular, but most people in general, will try to avoid doing things they do not want to do or use less than ethical means to do so. Just as soldiers will use sickness to avoid hard work, some men

⁷⁶ The Secretary of the Army, Senior Review Report on Sexual Harassment, Volume 1, July 1997.

or women with families will use their children to get off the hook for prolonged trips. There is no evidence that most women will use their sexuality for personal gain. It will be the responsibility of the BDF leadership to nix such a habit if it emerges. The failure of leadership, at any level, to handle such organizational issues will only create a more severe crisis that will impede impartiality or judgment.

c. When Values are violated: The Case of the Army's Aberdeen Proving Ground in Maryland

The army is based on trust...the trust of the American people that we will defend them and trust of our soldiers that their leaders will do what is best for them. When we violate that, we disappoint our country and betray our soldiers.

Togo D. West, Jr., Secretary of the Army
November 8, 1996⁷⁷

In the fall of 1996, the trust between leaders and soldiers was called into question by serious allegations of sexual impropriety at several Army installations. On Nov. 7, 1996, reports surfaced of alleged acts of rape, other sexual misconduct and abuses of authority against women trainees by male trainers at the U.S. Army Ordnance Center and School at Aberdeen Proving Ground, MD. During the ongoing investigation, 32-year old Staff Sergeant, Delmar Simpson, was charged and found guilty on 18 counts of rape in a military trial. His victims were six women trainees at the Army's Aberdeen Proving Ground in Maryland. In all, twelve Aberdeen drill instructors faced court martial for charges ranging from rape, forcible sodomy, failure to obey a lawful general order, adultery, indecent assault on a female soldier, obstruction of justice and conduct unbecoming an officer and sexual misconduct.⁷⁸

This case raises two issues from which the BDF can draw a lesson: the selection of the right instructors for training women in the BDF and the concept of trust and good leadership. Instructors are what make or break the army. They are the key elements in the stages of a trainee's life. They are what make or break a soldier and are the first military contact for the new trainees. The BDF values of: duty, integrity, discipline, and esprit de corps are more than words; they are the essence of all that we

⁷⁷ Ibid, p. 11.

⁷⁸ Ibid.

do.⁷⁹ Therefore, in order to give the new trainees a true reflection of what the BDF represents, it is imperative that their instructors are of the highest quality and are representative of these values. These values should be emphasized with both instructors and trainees at all times. Instructors, in particular, should know that trainees consider them role models and that anything they say or do to them is likely to be viewed as being condoned by the authorities. Therefore, when instructors do what is not condoned by the BDF, they should know that they are misrepresenting and tarnishing the image of the defense force and should be punished accordingly.

d. The Extent and Impact of Sexual Harassment

Over the years, the U.S. Army and other independent agencies have conducted a number of surveys to determine the extent of sexual harassment experienced by soldiers. Although both male and female soldiers can be subjected to sexual harassment, all the studies concluded that women are disproportionately impacted. The results of the semi-annual Army-wide survey conducted by the U.S. Army Institute in 1992, 1993, and 1995 indicate the rate at which both male and female soldiers are subjected to sexual harassment. (See Table 4.1) The 1995/1998 DoD surveys indicated the type of sexual harassment behavior experienced by U.S. service members. A good understanding of the reasons for these types of unwanted sexual behavior can help the BDF in focusing its sexual harassment policy to address this issue in case it happens to the BDF, and it is more than likely to happen. The tables below explain prevalent types and numbers of sexual harassment cases in the U.S. services. Table 4.1 is a record of the soldiers' affirmative responses to the question, "Were you sexually harassed in the last 12 months?" It is categorized by survey and the gender of the respondents.⁸⁰ It is interesting to note that two separate surveys (SSMP and Panel survey) were conducted and the same question was posed in precisely the same language. In the Panel survey, the definition of sexual harassment was provided to the same participants yet the responses were similar. Check alignment all the way through

⁷⁹ The Botswana Defence Force 25th Anniversary Commemorative Brochure, (Gaborone: Front Page Publications), p. 2.

⁸⁰ The Secretary of the Army, Senior Review Report on Sexual Harassment, Volume 1, July 1997.

Table 4.1. Were You Sexually Harassed in the Last 12 Months?

	SSMP (1992) N=8,849	SSMP (1993) N=9,130	SSMP (1995) N=15,113	SSMP (1997) N=14,498
Men	2.9%	2.6%	2.8%	7%
Women	29.8%	24.4%	24.9%	22%

From: The Secretary of the Army, Senior Review Report on Sexual Harassment, Volume 1, July 1997.

Table 4.2 presents the percentage of personnel broken down by rank and gender. This clearly indicates that junior enlisted women reported experiencing higher rates of harassment than any other rank category. The survey also indicates that higher rank does not protect a soldier from sexual harassment.

Table 4.2. Sexual Harassment Reported by Rank and Gender.

	Junior Enlisted	NCOs	Officers
Men	10%	5%	2%
Women	29%	17%	6%

From: The Secretary of the Army, Senior Review Report on Sexual Harassment, Volume 1, July 1997.

Table 4.3 indicates the results of the 1988/1995 DOD surveys delineating the type of sexual harassment behavior experienced by U.S. service members. Topping the list were sexual teasing, jokes, remarks followed by suggestive looks and gestures. This shows the types of sexual harassment actions that are common in the U.S. Navy. A closer assessment of these actions can give the BDF a better understanding of what to assimilate when creating policies as well as educating the members of the armed forces on what constitutes harassment.

Table 4.3. Sexual Harassment Behavior Experienced by U.S. Service Members, by Gender (1988/1995 DoD Surveys).

Behavior	Percent			
	Men		Women	
	1988	1995	1988	1995
Sexual teasing, jokes, gestures	52	44	13	10
Suggestive looks, gestures	44	37	10	7
Touching, cornering, pinching	38	29	9	6
Whistle, call	38	23	5	3
Pressure for dates	26	22	3	2
Pressure for sexual favors	15	11	2	1
Letters, telephone calls	14	12	3	2
Attempts to get your participation in any other sexual activities	7	7	2	2
Other	5	5	1	1
Rape/Assault	5	4	0	0

From: 1995 DoD Sexual Harassment Surveys, Form A as cited in Defense Manpower Data Center Report.

B. POLICIES ON FRATERNIZATION

Rules governing fraternization exist in all branches and services of the U.S. What is fraternization? Fraternization rules exist which prohibit sexual contact between officers and persons of lower rank. The rule against fraternization had been a long-established military custom founded on the belief of an officer's social superiority over enlisted personnel. "Such rules have resulted in an officer being court-martialed for committing such acts as fishing, hunting and even bowling with enlisted persons."⁸¹ In more recent times, the rule has been recognized as more appropriately prohibiting contact between officers and enlisted soldiers, which is prejudicial to the good order and discipline of the armed forces. The Army regulation on fraternization states: "Relationships between service members of different rank which involve, or give the

⁸¹ Green, Thomas J. February 1997. "Obtaining Less Zero Tolerance for Sexual Harassment in the Armed Forces." *The Missouri Bar*.

Journal on-line. Available from <http://www.mobar.net/press/bfly0297.htm> Accessed on February 24, 2003.

appearance of partial or preferential treatment...are prejudicial to good order, discipline, and unit morale.”⁸²

Due to the tendency of higher male to female ratios in the services, the fraternization rules can add the stress of social isolation for females. This pressure can overwhelm female soldiers and cause them to become involved with males of higher rank. One female guard was quoted as saying:

It can get lonely in a new place with no friends and no family, and you may find that the enlisted crewmen are the only ones around in your spare time. When you’re in a situation like this, it’s hard to understand why you shouldn’t get too friendly with them. Or perhaps you understand, but your own mental well-being you feel you have to make friends with someone.⁸³

Technically, fraternization refers to senior-subordinate relationship, but generally, it is viewed as involving male-female relationships. Service members find fraternization policies confusing and often misunderstand them.

Since its inception in 1977, the BDF also has realized the senior-subordinate relationships or an association in which mutual respect of rank and position is ignored constitutes fraternization and has a section in its regulation prohibiting it. The term fraternization is not commonly used in the BDF terminology, but the context of its explanation in the U.S. services bears some significant resemblance to section 62, subsection 2 b (Disgraceful and discreditable conduct) of the BDF Act that says:

Any person subject to this Act who-lends money to any person senior to him in rank or borrows money from or accepts any present from any person junior to him in rank shall, on conviction by court martial or by the High Court, be liable to imprisonment for two years or any less punishment provided by this Act.⁸⁴

The above section from the BDF Act demonstrates that fraternization is a gender-neutral concept that has been in existence since the inception of the BDF, albeit the introduction of women in the BDF will compel the command to make a gender

⁸² Addis Elizabeth, Russo Valera E. and Sebesta Lorenza.ed., *Women Soldiers* (New York: St. Martin’s Press, 1994), p. 69.

⁸³ Ibid.

⁸⁴ BDF Act of 1977, Chapter: 2105, Section 62, Subsection 2 b (Disgraceful and discreditable conduct).

encompassing policy. It will now be up to the BDF to clearly outline a gender concept of fraternization for male-female relationships that would challenge good order and discipline or discredit long standing traditions of the BDF. Professional and social interactions and appropriate personal relationships are an important part of unit morale and esprit de corps. It will be very difficult for the BDF to set forth acts that may be prejudicial to good order and discipline because existing circumstances often determine whether the conduct in question is inappropriate or not. However, personal relationships such as dating, cohabitation, intimate or sexual relations that are unduly familiar between officers and enlisted should be determined as a “no go area” from the start.

One very important aspect that should be borne in mind is that conduct constituting fraternization should not be excused by legal marriages between the parties. This is assuming that the BDF will enlist married women. This is a very important decision that will have consequences, whether good or bad, on the fraternization policy. Many difficult questions needing answers will arise at the initial stage of integration, questions such as:

- Do we integrate only single women or will married women be allowed to join as well?
- Do we want to allow marriages between officers and the enlisted or should it only be officers to officers and enlisted to enlist?
- If we don't allow marriages between officers and enlisted what if an officer or enlisted member got married to their boyfriend or girlfriend before one of them joined the BDF, do we deny him/her joining on the grounds that by joining he/she will be violating the fraternization rules?

As stated earlier, the fraternization policy is often confusing. Therefore, when the BDF writes its fraternization policies, it should consider the following questions as a guide to its framework:

- Does the action or behavior call into question a senior's objectivity?
- Does the action result in actual or apparent preferential treatment?
- Does the action undermine the authority of a senior?
- Does the action compromise the chain of command?

Since the BDF is a small force and is currently experiencing various financial constraints men and women are likely to find themselves in awkward situations (e.g. sharing accommodation) not necessarily preferred by the BDF. When economic

constraints place senior and junior members in close proximity with one another, such as combined ranks or joint use of officers' clubs, joint recreational facilities or mixed officer/enlisted housing areas, military members are, nevertheless, expected to maintain professional relationships. The mere fact that maintaining professional relationships may be more difficult under certain circumstances does not relieve a member from the responsibility of adhering to the rules and regulations and maintaining BDF standards.

C. EQUAL OPPORTUNITY (EO) POLICIES

Whenever the government of Botswana decides to move toward the assimilation of women in the defense force, the BDF will need to pay close attention to policies and practices specific to women. The BDF's recruitment, management, training, and assignment of women will have to integrate them fully in the mainstream career paths.

1. Equal Opportunity, What Is It?

The U.S. Navy definition of Equal Opportunity (EO) is as follows:

The right of all persons to participate in, and benefit from, programs and activities for which they are qualified. These programs and activities shall be free from social, personal or instructional barriers that prevent people from rising to the highest level of responsibility possible. Persons shall be evaluated on individual merit, fitness and capability, regardless of race, ethnicity, color, sex, national origin or religion.⁸⁵

EO philosophy is based on fairness, justice and equity. Its purpose is to sustain a comprehensive effort to maximize human potential and to ensure fair treatment for all officers and enlisted based solely on merit, fitness, and capability in support of readiness.

2. Equal Opportunity Policy

The current US Army policy on EO is that federal law governs the assignment and utilization of women. AR 600-13, Army Policy for Assignment of Female Soldiers, prescribes policies, procedures, responsibilities, and the positions for female soldiers. The Army's assignment policy for female soldiers allows women to serve in any officer or enlisted specialty or position except in those specialties, positions, and units (battalion size or smaller) that are assigned as part of a routine mission to engage in direct ground combat. Ninety-one percent of Army occupations are open to women and 70% of Army positions are open to women. (See Figure 4.1) Closed to women are the following units

⁸⁵ SECNAV INSTRUCTION 5350.16, 28 June 1999.

below brigade level: infantry, armor, Special Forces, field artillery regiments, combat engineers companies, ground surveillance radar platoon, and air defense artillery battalions.⁸⁶

From: U.S. Department of Defense, Office of the Assistant Secretary of Defense, Public Affairs News Release No. 449-94, July 29, 2000.

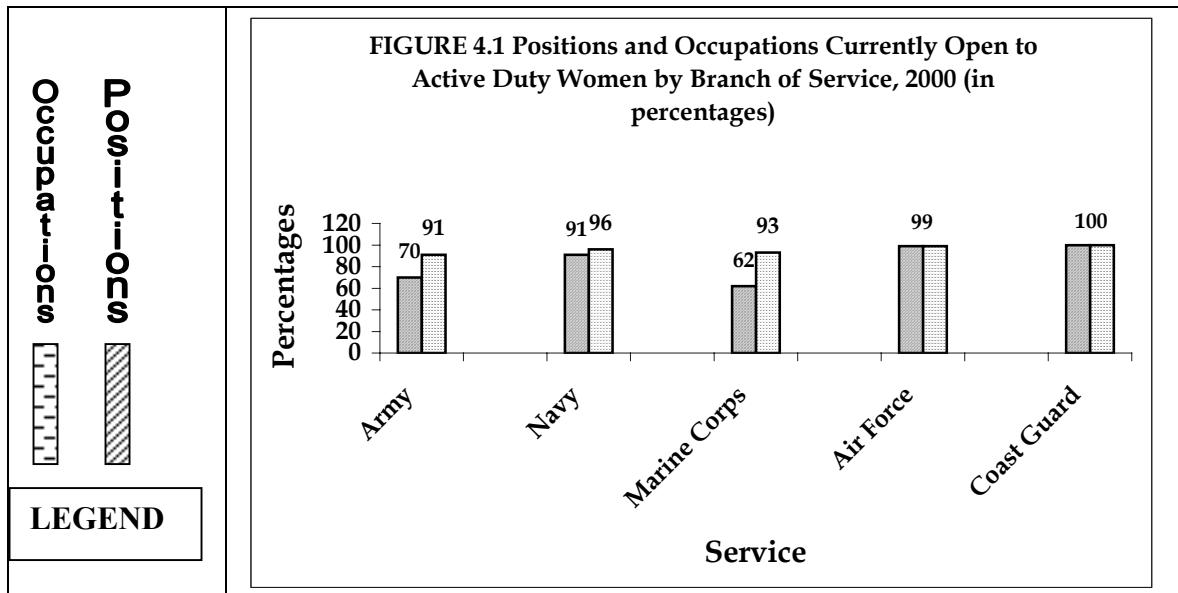
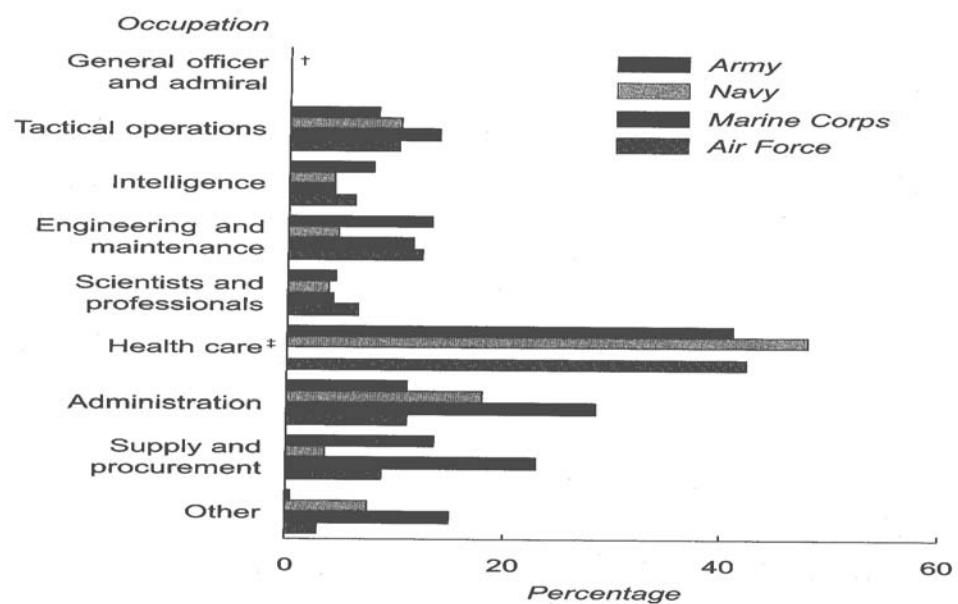


Figure 4.1. Positions and Occupations Currently Open to Active Duty Women by Branch of Service, 2000 (in percentages)

⁸⁶ Captain Manning, Lorry and Wight, Vanessa R., Women's Research and Education Institute, *Women in the Military: Where They Stand*, Third Edition, November, 2000, p. 21.



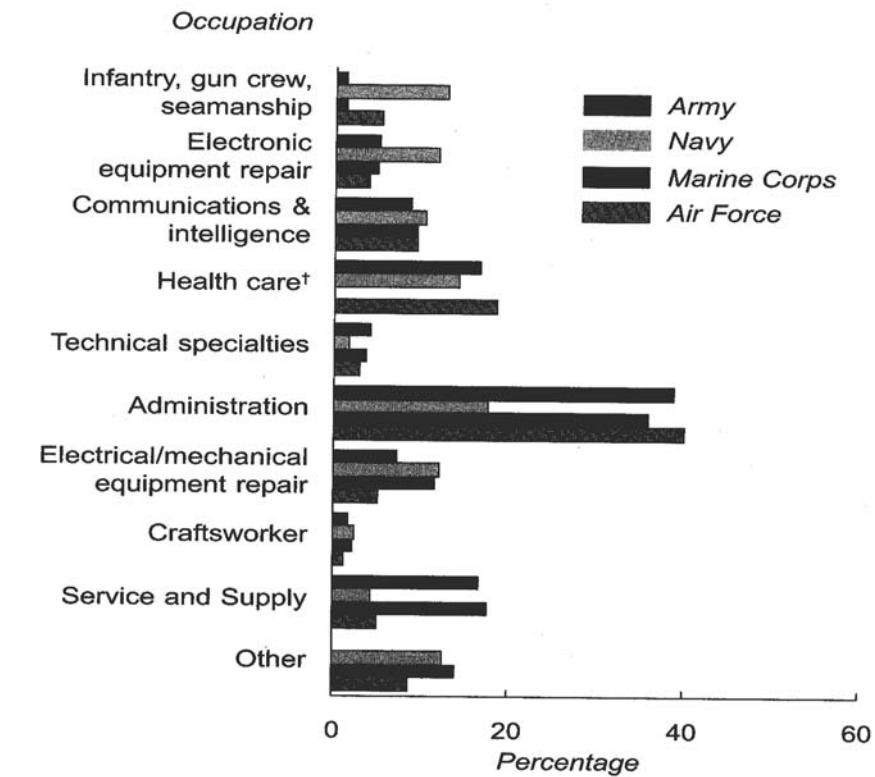
*Percentages may not total 100.0 due to rounding.

[†]Less than one-tenth of one percent.

[‡]Health care services for the Marine Corps are provided by the Navy.

Source: U.S. Department of Defense, Defense Manpower Data Center, unpublished data compiled by the Women's Research & Education Institute (WREI), May 2000.

Figure 4.2. Occupational Profile of Active Duty Women Officers in the Department of Defense by Branch of Service, 2000 (in percentages).



*Percentages may not total 100.0 due to rounding.

†Health care services for the Marine Corps are provided by the Navy.

Source: U.S. Department of Defense, Defense Manpower Data Center, unpublished data compiled by the Women's Research & Education Institute (WREI), May 2000.

Figure 4.3. Occupational Profile of Active Duty Enlisted Women in the Department of Defense by Branch of Service, 2000 (in percentages).

When the BDF shapes its EO policy, especially in the line of assignment of women, it needs to address its definition of combat occupation. The definition is not always self-evident. Some occupations, such as infantry, are generally considered combat occupations, but an infantryman can be assigned to non-combat units. For example, an officer who is a platoon or company commander at one of the BDF brigades is in a so-called combat occupation, but he may be assigned to BDF HQ as a staff officer and thus is in a non-combat position. The unit to which the individual is assigned usually determines a combat position. For example, a nurse stationed at Sir Seretse Khama

Barracks Clinic is in a non-combat position, but if the same nurse transfers to 1 Brigade as a Medic, he/she would be in a combat position.

a. Noteworthy Developments

Some worldwide noteworthy developments from which Botswana can study and learn have recently occurred. They include the following:

- Mexico recently decided to allow women to join its military service.
- In 1999, the Italian parliament voted to allow women to serve in the armed forces. Italy was the only country in NATO that did not allow women to serve.
- Over 60 women comprised the first group of women to graduate from basic training in the Republic of Malawi (May 2000).
- Major General Jackie Sedibe is among the first women generals in the South African National Defence Forces. Before the forces were integrated, General Sedibe served in Umkwonto We Sizwe (MK).⁸⁷
- In early 2000, the Israeli parliament passed legislation permitting women to serve in all army posts including combat units.⁸⁸ Military occupations in which women in other countries serve.

Please note that the list is not exhaustive. Women in many countries not specified might also be serving in some of the occupations listed below.

- Countries where women fly military aircrafts: Australia, Belgium, Canada, Denmark, France, Israel, Japan, the Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Portugal, Singapore, Spain, South Africa, Sri Lanka, Sweden, Taiwan, Turkey, and the United States.
- Countries where women can serve in ground combat occupations: Belgium, Canada, Denmark, France, Hungary, Israel, Spain, the Netherlands (except the Marines), New Zealand, Norway, Portugal (except the Marines and combat divers), Singapore, Spain, South Africa, Sweden.⁸⁹

⁸⁷ Umkwonto We Sizwe (MK), directly translated from Zulu means spear of the nation. It was a military wing of the African National Congress during the liberation struggle in South Africa.

⁸⁸ Captain Manning, Lorry and Wight, Vanessa R., *Women's Research and Education Institute, Women in the Military: Where They Stand*, Third Edition, November, 2000, p. 28.

⁸⁹ Ibid, p. 30.

Table 4.4 Selected Countries Where Women Serve in the Military.

Country	Total Number	Total Women	Percentage Women
Australia	55,200	7,400	13.4
Belarus	80,900	2,100	2.6
Belgium	41,750	2,570	6.2
Brunei	50,000	600	1.2
Canada	60,600	6,100	10.1
China	2,480,000	136,000	5.5
Cyprus	10,000	445	4.5
Czech Republic	23,500	1,646	7.0
Denmark	24,300	1,020	4.2
Finland	31,700	500	1.6
France	317,300	22,790	7.2
Germany	332,800	1,440	0.4
Greece	165,670	5,520	3.3
Hungary	54,300	2,172	4.0
Japan	236,300	9,100	3.9
Netherlands	56,380	1,920	3.4
New Zealand	9,530	1,370	14.3
Norway	—*	—*	5.0
Portugal	49,700	2,300	4.6
Poland	—*	167 [†]	—*
Russia	1,004,100	145,000	14.4
South Africa	69,950	16,998	24.0
Spain	186,500	3,800	2.0
Turkey	—*	684 [†]	—*
United Kingdom	212,400	15,860	7.5
United States	1,354,828	194,820	14.4

*Data are not available.

[†]Officers only.

Sources: The International Institute for Strategic Studies, *The Military Balance 1999–2000*, London: Oxford University Press, 1999; NATO HQ: The Advisory Committee on Women in NATO Forces, *Women in NATO Forces Year-in-Review*, 1998; U.S. Department of Defense, Defense Manpower Data Center, unpublished data compiled by WREI, October 2000.

c. Limitations to Women's Equal Opportunity in the Military

Despite the equal opportunities and the number of positions the BDF can open for women, a number of obstacles, though not by design, from the initial stage of integration will limit their equal opportunities. First, even though some women might show interest in certain occupations, especially ground combat units, it is highly likely that they will be closed to women, as is the policy in many countries. Second, in the occupations that are open to them, women in various armed forces are normally assigned to these units on a restricted basis. For example, women working in infantry units are restricted only to desk jobs in the brigade or division staff. Third, positions may be officially open to women, but need to be filled by people with certain skills that most women do not have. For example, the instructor slots in the military training schools might be open to women, but to be an instructor, as a prerequisite, one has to have undergone three or four courses, which women would probably be lacking, at least in the early stages of integration.

D. POLICY ON PREGNANCY AND MANAGEMENT OF PREGNANT WOMEN

The issue of pregnancy has raised concerns for the armed forces in areas such as: the potential availability of pregnant military women for mobilization, attrition, cohesion, and health care issues. Pregnancy among American Services has become the subject of frequent discussion because of its impact on the mission.

1. Background

In the U.S. Armed Forces, the largest reason for female attrition is pregnancy, 25-50% of the women who fail to complete enlistment contracts do so because of pregnancy. An estimated 7-17% of servicewomen become pregnant each year.⁹⁰ In 1990 and 1997, the U.S. Navy Personnel Research and Development Center (NPRDC) conducted studies on the impact of pregnancy on readiness. Both studies found that pregnancy was perceived to be a significant issue due to lost time and personnel turnover.⁹¹

At this point, it is worth switching the investigations from the U.S. Armed Services to the Canadian Forces that has been earlier highlighted as one of the armed

⁹⁰ Michell, Brian, *Women in the Military: Flirting with Disaster*. (Washington, D.C.: Regnery Publishing, Inc., 1998), p. 152.

⁹¹ Navy Women's Study Group, *An Update Report on the Progress of Women in the NAVY*, 1990.

services that the BDF can use to model its policies for administering women. Canada is also a good model for the BDF since the Canadian Forces (CF) have a system which is a mixture of British and American systems, just like the BDF and also has a good policy on pregnancy. Therefore, the findings of the investigation on this particular subject will not drift from the anticipated focus.

Women have served in the Canadian Military since 1885 when nurses first served during the Northwest Rebellion. A policy review resulting from the 1970 Royal Commission Report on the Status of Women abolished the 1500 personnel ceiling, expanded the career opportunities open to women in the military and revised policies on marriage, pregnancy and retirement benefits. By 1974, 66% of Canadian Forces (CF) trades and occupations were open to women, but they were still excluded from combat and near-combat positions. Today, women in the CF comprise 11.4% (6,558 of 57,441) of the Regular Force and 18.6% (5,787 of 31,479) of the Reserve Force. Of all the gender integration efforts in the CF, the least successful has been the integration of women into the combat arms (infantry, artillery, field engineer and armor) where representation remains low at 1.9%. Eligibility requirements are the same for women and men depending on their entrance category/specialty.⁹²

2. Pregnancy Policies of the Canadian Forces

The CF Administration Order **CFAO 56-29 (PREGNANCY)** prescribes the policy and procedures for maternity leave, provides direction on the employment of Canadian Forces (CF) members who are diagnosed to be pregnant and establishes the procedures associated with the payment of Maternity Allowance (MATA).

The following are some of the highlights from the detailed CFAO 56-29 that can be applicable to the BDF.

a. Administrative Procedures

- A CF member's pregnancy must be diagnosed by means of a recognized pregnancy test or a medical examination and must be certified by a CF (medical officer) MO or a civilian medical practitioner.

⁹² NATO. 2001. "Year-in-Review: Special Edition 2001". *International Military Staff-Committee on Women in NATO Forces*. Available from <http://www.nato.int/ims/2001/win/canada.htm> Accessed February 24, 2003.

- When a member believes that she is pregnant, she shall report immediately to a medical officer (MO). In locations where the services of a MO are not available, the normal medical procedures for that location shall be followed.
- The CF member whose pregnancy is confirmed by the MO will be given a temporary medical category profile. However, as pregnancy is a medical condition of limited duration, the permanent medical profile of the member prior to diagnosis of pregnancy shall be used to determine fitness for promotion, re-engagement, conversion of terms of service, occupational transfer and, where consistent with health and safety concerns, attendance at career courses.

The above administrative procedure could stand as a good example for the BDF. It is good that the above policy gives an option for the pregnant officer or soldier to be examined by a civilian medical practitioner because currently, and maybe even for a long time, the BDF has a shortage of doctors. Therefore, it would be ideal if the BDF would establish contact with civilian doctors and maintain a list of doctors that pregnant personnel could see. It will be important that only a pool of certain BDF recognized doctors that the BDF has made prior arrangements with, be maintained to avoid incurring unnecessary expenses or causing confusion with the arrangement. The civilian doctors would then be sensitized about BDF policies and procedures with regard to pregnancy. Therefore, they would be in a position to attend to cases within the guidelines of the BDF, but would not be disregarding their obligations as doctors.

The above also stands as a lesson to the BDF as it will need to establish a procedure for reporting pregnancy, when to give a temporary medical profile to the pregnant officer or soldier, and what she can and cannot do and for how long if she is pregnant.

b. CFAO 56-29, Pregnancy, Sections 3 and 4

- The CF will help pregnant members to maintain their health, safety and welfare throughout the period of pregnancy and birth. In support of this policy, members are provided adequate time away from military duties with compensation so that they can recuperate from childbirth and care for their new-born child, free from undue financial or duty-related concerns.
- Decisions regarding duty during pregnancy shall be the result of a consultative process between the commanding officer (CO), MO and the member. If there is any doubt or question as to the potential hazard of any particular duty assignment, including temporary duty or courses, an MO must first certify the fitness of the member to undertake such duty. The

CO of a pregnant member shall ensure that the member performs duties that:

- Are consistent with the duty limitations indicated by the medical officer; and
- Pose no threat to the health of the member or fetus.

The above section of CF Regulation will be a revelation to the BDF in the sense that it details the aspects of helping pregnant members to maintain their health, safety and welfare throughout their period of pregnancy and birth. The question is who does that. Does the BDF have qualified medical personnel to deal specifically with women health issues? The answer right now is no. Therefore, this calls for the BDF Medical Corps to re-examine its manpower planning. That means gynecology becomes a necessity within the specialization of BDF medical personnel. Not having specialists in this area would mean the BDF would have to refer many of its cases dealing with women to civilian doctors, and thus, incur more expenses.

Mandatory duty limitations for any pregnant member consist of:

- Unfit for United Nations or isolated duties;
- No heavy lifting, drill, parades or marching;
- Physical training at own pace;
- Unable to safely receive routine immunizations;
- Regular sleep and meals;
- Rest at reasonable intervals while on duty;
- No duties that entail serving in the field or participating in a field operation or exercise;
- No participation in duties that require physical exertion, contact sports or strenuous exercise; and
- No flying in ejection seat aircraft that require an operational air factor.
- Dress. A pregnant member shall commence wearing the CF distinctive environmental maternity uniform when other orders of dress are no longer comfortable or appropriate.
- Quarters. Members living in Single Occupant Accommodation (SOA) who become pregnant are required to secure alternate accommodations in either Multiple Occupant Accommodation (MOA) or in the private housing market.

The BDF has a very difficult task ahead of carefully crafting rules and regulations that take into account the limitations of pregnant women in their regular assignments, such as regulations outlining when to stop doing normal duties, for example, what physical activity to participate in, and how to participate in it? Where to live for instance, and what and when to wear prescribed maternity uniform.

The role of women, as perceived by anti-integrationists, will still haunt women and become barriers to their careers in the BDF; not because of the BDF leadership, but because of traditional family values or expectations. The traditional roles they are expected to play and their desire for career improvement in the BDF will definitely cause conflict in the initial stages as many will grapple with their acceptance as soldiers. Traditionally, a Motswana woman who has a newborn baby undergoes a process of seclusion (botsetsi). She stays in a hut where she only accepts female visitors and does not interact with the rest of her community for a period of a few months. In the past, this was an accepted part of the process of being a mother. This obstacle will drive career aspiring women who still subscribe to the traditional beliefs to think twice before having a child.

E. FAMILY CARE POLICY

1. Background

What effects do policies regarding the assignment of women have upon military families, children, and the society? Should serviceman husband and servicewoman wife be stationed together? Who looks after the children when both parents are deployed, or when the father or mother is a single parent? How much does having a husband and family hinder a servicewoman's career or vice versa? These are the kinds of questions that the BDF will have to struggle with when it decides on sound parental and family policies. It is important that the BDF develop an accommodating policy that will allow women to lead a normal life as well as effectively perform the tasks required of them.

The following are some of the many comments that are indicative of women in the U.S. Armed Forces:

Being single has been an advantage. I don't have to go home and deal with a child or a husband.⁹³

Many of the women opt to settle for a monogamous but temporary relationship, so that when they receive orders, they are free to move where ordered. Some postpone having children, sometimes indefinitely.

No children, just careers, you know, says a senior airman in munitions maintenance. Maybe someday, we'll fit in children. It just doesn't fit the military. We move too much...⁹⁴

2. Policy

It is very important to ensure the care of family members and dependents. This section will examine the U.S. Navy policy and examine policy items the BDF can adopt when writing its policy on Family Care. The following details some of the relevant requirements of the U.S. Navy Family Care Policy:

- The member has the requirements to ensure that family members are cared for before deployments, reserve mobilization and temporary duty, as well as at all other times.
- The primary responsibility for initiating and developing a workable family care plan rests with the individual member.
- It is also the responsibility of the member to provide the caregiver all the information and documentation needed to execute the Family Care Plan, and provide for the member's dependents.
- Formal documentation of a member's Family Care Plan is required under any of the following conditions:
 - A single parent with custody of children under 19 years of age.
 - Both parents of a dual military couple with custody of children less than 19 years of age.
 - Family circumstances or other status changes in which the member becomes solely responsible for the care (housing, medical, logistical, financial, food, clothing or transportation) of another person.
- Family Care Plan shall designate one or more caregivers who will agree to provide for the affected member's family or dependents. **NAVPERSONS 1740/6 Family Care Plan Certificate and NAVPERSONS 1740/7 Family**

⁹³ Schneider, Dorothy and Schneider, Carl, *Sound Off: American Military Women Speak Out*, New York: E.P. Dutton, 1998, p. 198.

⁹⁴ Ibid, p. 192.

Care Arrangements shall be used to document the Family Care Plan. The Family Care Plan shall include written provisions for:

- Short-term absences (e.g. Temporary Additional Duty requirements, pre-deployment, workups, training exercises and periods of annual training).
- Long-term absences (e.g. deployments, unaccompanied tours and periods of long-term involuntary recall for inactive).
- At the discretion of the commanding officer, other kinds of absences (e.g. normal extended working hours, watches, weekend duty). The commanding officer's decision should take into account the individual member's level of responsibility.
- The Family Care Plan covers the arrangement for the financial well being of the family member during separations. Arrangements should include power(s) of attorney, allotments or other appropriate means to ensure the self-sufficiency and financial security of family members.
- Logistical movements of the family or caregiver.
- Alternative caregiver(s) in the event the primary caregiver(s) becomes unable to perform duties under the Family Care Plan.
- Single parents and couples with minor children shall designate a person, who in the event of their death or incapacity of the service member, will assume temporary responsibility for their minor children until a legal guardian is appointed by a court of competent jurisdiction or the non-custodial natural parent assumes custody.
- Military mothers of newborns shall be deferred from travel away from the home station for four months following the delivery.⁹⁵

The nature of military service, be it Army, Air Force or Marines or a UN Peace Operations Force, dictates that the members be ready to deploy anywhere and any time they are called upon even on short notice. For members with dependants, the ability to meet this challenge is directly related to prior family care planning. Therefore, the Family Care Plan has the primary task of assisting members to develop workable family care plans.

F. POLICY ON ASSIGNMENT OF WOMEN

1. Purpose

This section will discuss the U.S. Army Regulation 600-13 (Army Policy for the Assignment of Female Soldiers) that became effective on April 27, 1992. This regulation

⁹⁵ OPNAVINST 1740.A, Pers-2WW, 17 December 1996.

prescribes policy, procedure, responsibilities, and the position coding system for assigning female soldiers in the U.S. Army. There are many sections of the policy that the BDF can learn from when creating its policy when the time comes for the introduction of women in the BDF.

2. Policy

- The U.S. Army's assignment policy for female soldiers allows a woman to serve in any officer or enlisted specialty or position except in those specialties, positions, or units (battalion size or smaller) which are assigned a routine mission to engage in direct combat, or which collocate routinely with units assigned a direct combat mission.⁹⁶
- The Direct Combat Position Coding (DCPC) system implements the Army policy for the coding of positions in organization documents and the related assignment of all soldiers to these positions.
- Female soldiers will be provided full and equal opportunity to pursue careers in the military and will be assigned to all skill and positions according to the above policy.
- Direct Combat Position Coding:

The DCPC will use the following three dimensions to classify each position with tables of organization and equipment (TOE):

- Duties of the position and area of concentration or military occupation specialty (MOS).
- Unit mission.
- Routine collocation.⁹⁷
- Coding classifications. All TOE positions will be evaluated during the formulation process and be assigned an appropriate DCPC code. The following two codes will be used to classify positions:
 - P1 will indicate those positions to which women may not be assigned.
 - P2 (open to women) will be used for all other positions.

⁹⁶ Direct Combat: Engaging an enemy with individual or crew served weapons while being exposed to direct fire, high probability of direct physical contact with the enemy's personnel and a substantial risk of capture. Direct combat takes place while closing with the enemy by fire, maneuver, and shock effect in order to destroy or capture the enemy, or while repelling the enemy's assault by fire, close combat, or counterattack.

⁹⁷ Collocation: Occurs when the position or unit routinely physically locates and remains with a military unit assigned a doctrinal mission to routinely engage in direct combat. Specifically, positions in units or sub-units that routinely collocate with units assigned a direct combat mission are closed to women. An entire unit will not be closed because a sub-unit routinely collocates with a unit assigned a direct combat mission. The sub-unit will be closed to women.

- Coding procedures for closed P1 and open P2 positions. Positions will be coded P1 only if:
 - The specialty or position requires routine engagement in different combat.
 - The position is in a battalion or smaller size unit that has a mission of routine engagement in direct combat.
 - The position is in a unit that routinely collocates with a battalion or a smaller size unit having a direct combat mission.

Positions will be coded open P2 if they do not meet the criteria of a closed P1 position as defined above.⁹⁸

The November 15, 1992 Report to the President, by the Commission assigned to revisit the issue of involvement of women in direct combat, reaffirmed the current policy. The sense of the Commission was that women should be excluded from direct land combat units and positions. The Commission considered the effects that women could have on the cohesion of ground combat units. A research study reviewed by the Commission indicates that the following are areas where cohesion problems might develop:

- Ability of women to carry the physical burdens required of each combat unit member. This entails an ability to meet physical standards of endurance and stamina.
- Forced intimacy and lack of privacy on the battlefield (e.g., washing, bathing, using latrine facilities, etc...).
- Traditional values where men feel the responsibility to protect women.
- Dysfunctional relationships (e.g., sexual misconduct).
- Pregnancy.

The case against women in ground combat, as reviewed by the Commission, is compelling and conclusive. The physiological differences between men and women are readily apparent when examining issues related to women who choose to volunteer for ground combat tasks. There are few women, especially enlisted women, interested in serving in ground combat specialties, supporting this.⁹⁹ The bottom line that the BDF

⁹⁸ U.S. Army Regulation 600-13 (Army Policy for the Assignment of Female Soldiers).

⁹⁹ Presidential Commission on the Assignment of Women in the Armed Forces, Report to the President, November 15, 1992.

can learn is that military readiness should be the driving concern regarding assignment policies.

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V. CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

A. CONCLUSIONS

Batswana women have diligently served their nation in every sector except the military. The Botswana government has put in place many programs that empower women and encourage them to be self-sufficient. Women in Botswana society are increasingly moving away from patriarchy to inclusion in all sectors of society, but it never ceases to amaze many that the BDF continues to be an exception to this contemporary transformation. Botswana remains the only nation among the SADC countries that does not admit women in its defense force. The admission of women into the BDF will be a very important step in the history of Botswana, the region and for women in particular. It will bring the military in line with the social transformation whereby the roles of women have dramatically changed over the years.

Women are now regarded as equals and partners in the development of Botswana rather than as passengers in the development process. Botswana continues to feature prominently in women international agendas such as the signing and ratification of the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination in August 1996. In order to not be seen as just paying lip service, but actually putting in practice what it shares with the rest of the world, the integration of women in the BDF will mark a very critical step in the implementation of some of its goals. Now, the government, though moving at a snail's pace, recognizes the need to integrate women in the BDF, a sentiment echoed in the Botswana Vision 2016.¹⁰⁰

The BDF holds as its fundamental principles, high standards in professionalism, discipline, efficiency and credibility reflected in the character of the Botswana nation.¹⁰¹ This character is reflected in many sections of Vision 2016. These characters consist of prosperity, productivity and innovation that bear significant reflection to the fundamental principles of a postmodern military.

¹⁰⁰ Vision 2016, p. 56.

¹⁰¹ BDF Day 2001 Official Program, (Gaborone: Protocol and Public Affairs Office) April 7, 2001, p. 11.

Chapter II examined in detail the argument as to why Botswana must consider the inclusion of women in the BDF. It examined the changing role and status of women in the 20th and 21st centuries, and then looked at the African perception regarding women in society, the particular case of Botswana and finally the role women continue to play in the U.S. Armed Services. The main reason for examining the evidence in this logical sequence is to give the future engineers of the BDF policy on women some background on how the perception of policy makers is often influenced by historical events and to give them a general idea of how the role of women has changed during the past century. By presenting an awareness of historical statistics and examining the role women play in other militaries, as well as their changing role in other sectors of Botswana society, it provides evidence of what they are capable of doing and that their capabilities can be exported to the BDF if given an opportunity.

The first part of Chapter II examined the role of women in the 20th and 21st centuries. This is most important because it is meant to communicate to the BDF that the inclusion of women in the military is not a bad thing, but rather a challenging step that many other countries, with women in their militaries, have already experienced. It reviews this concept by presenting historical evidence that is not just militarily focused, but is of significance to the military. From examining the patriarchal laws such as, the early Roman law, the Common Law of England and religious beliefs of Hinduism and Islam, it demonstrates how colonialism globalized and exported the negative perceptions about women. Unfortunately, these perceptions and myths have influenced the laws regarding the status of women around the world. A greater understanding of this misconception would be helpful for the BDF when it approaches women's issues, hopefully with the ability of separating fact from fiction and emotions from rationale. With that thinking in mind, I believe the BDF will be able to approach the issue with an open mind and with caution, while at the same time, knowing that women in the modern world are more educated, have demonstrated the ability to work in many of the same environments as men, and sometimes even hold higher posts. Role changes will demonstrate that the military has created units that women can be part of and not be viewed as contradicting the "image of femininity" or "killing the masculinity norms and traditions" of the military.

The chapter further provided an overview of the role of African women in the whole depiction of the family. Describing the typical daily life of an African woman, using the example of a Motswana woman, disproves the widely conceived notion that women are not tough enough to make it in the military. By detailing the long working hours and physical endurance outlined in this portion, it demonstrates that a woman has the potential, brains, and physique to equally handle many jobs if not better than those men are doing in the military. It challenges Botswana to look and think “outside the box” and examine how other countries, especially around its borders or within the SADC regions, have long realized the potential of women in their defense forces and have taken advantage of this opportunity. Botswana does not even have to look very far, as a glance of the model of South Africa and its advancement of women in the SANDF is a good first step.¹⁰² A more encouraging recent event in the African continent that should be a motivator for Botswana to move towards the integration of women in the BDF is the example of Malawi. Just three years ago, in 2000, Malawi was second to the last nation in SADC to integrate women in the region. That move has to have leave many bells ringing in Botswana. That is, if it wants to remain the only country in the SADC and possibly, in Africa or the rest of the world, with no women represented in its armed forces. The country’s persistence in taking a patriarchal stance in its military profession could make it a good competitor for the title as the most sexist country in the world. It also invites or opens the possibility of being legally challenged, especially in today’s litigious society. This is an imminent issue on the verge of imploding if not expeditiously addressed. As the economic growth of Botswana continues to slow because of the HIV/AIDS epidemic, many women demand more financial independence from men and feel that by being denied the opportunity to join the BDF, they are being financially disadvantaged since the BDF is considered to be a fairly well paying organization.

The second part of Chapter II added a more pragmatic dimension to the justification of the inclusion concept in that it focuses on the role of women in the U.S. military and how women in Botswana can play the same role. It outlines the role U.S. military women have played from World War II, the Korean War, and Vietnam to

¹⁰² South Africa has the highest percentage of women in its defense force than any other country in the world—see Table 4.3.

Grenada. It reinforces these roles by presenting statistics on the percentage of women in the U.S. military while comparing it to NATO countries. In comparing these statistics, the U.S. rates number one with the largest number of women in its military. The chapter takes these figures even further by detailing the percentages of military positions open to women in some of the NATO countries. Bringing the case of the role of South African women into the picture, gives the Botswana case more weight. The South African case study shows that this is an issue that is being kept alive in Africa, and more importantly, it is on the doorsteps of Botswana. Botswana has many things to learn from the SANDF. Finally, the exposé of the chapter is on the ever changing roles of women in the military and dispels the many misconceptions held by anti-integrationists regarding issues ranging from fraternization, sexual harassment and pregnancy.

Chapter III explained the policies that need to be put in place in order for the BDF to meet a postmodern military standard. Its focus was on those policies that are critical for good integration. It looked at three general policies dealing with recruitment, training and retention. The manner in which these are discussed follows a sequence of the layout of the thesis, that is, bringing women on board and once they are on board, and exploring the best ways of making them feel welcome in the BDF. The chapter brought to the fore questions such as, how many women will be required, for which specific jobs, and how will the training be conducted for them? The first part of the chapter looked at the recruitment policy. It examined the shape the recruitment policy should take and why. It concentrates on the relationship between policy and implementation with an emphasis on making sure that a written policy is not just rhetoric but is literally implemented. The chapter also examined available resources for recruiting women and the approach needed to conduct an effective women's recruitment campaign. It examined the motivations for women to join the BDF and prepares the BDF to have the right attitude or strategy to recruit women. The second part of the chapter examined the training policies of the U.S. Armed Forces with an emphasis on the U.S. Army and U.S. Marine Corps. An examination of the different training policies of the two services was done to answer the question of "whether the BDF should go gender integrated or not in their training once the women are admitted?" The chapter discussed the arguments of both the gender integration critics and the anti-integrationists. It brought to the fore the problems with

integrated and gender separated training, and the benefits of both, and then presents trade offs to the BDF with the aim of sensitizing the BDF about contemporary problems associated with both choices.

The last part of Chapter III focused on the effective and dynamic retention of females in the U.S. Perhaps the most interesting things to observe in the chapter are the comments extracted from interviews with women serving in the U.S. Armed Services regarding the reasons why they choose to stay in the military. By careful assessment of comments of this nature, the chapter tried to draw attention to them with the hope that the BDF will capitalize on them and formulate a solid retention program for its potential servicewomen.

Chapter IV took an optimistic view of the future challenges to both the BDF and potential servicewomen. It focused on proposing critical workable policies aimed at managing a multi-gender military. Since there are many problems associated with a multi-gender military, the chapter presented probable policies aimed at alleviating these problems. It is really beyond the scope of this thesis to try to propose a policy for every minute problem associated with a multi-gender military. Therefore, the chapter only looked at six critical policy issues of sexual harassment, fraternization, equal opportunity, employment, family care and pregnancy. The author chose these six issues because conventional wisdom has proved them contemporary problems for the postmodern military. The chapter highlighted the U.S. policies for both the Navy and the Army, and the discussion of each policy is concluded by indicating the areas from which the BDF can use as lessons learned. The chapter examined specific case studies such as the Tailhook '91 Convention, the Report on the Commission on Women's Issues, the United States Naval Academy Board of Visitors October 1990, and the 1996 U.S. Army Ordnance Center and School at Aberdeen Proving Ground, Md. Cases. The chapter also examined various surveys related to the extent and impact of sexual harassment and depicts lessons for the BDF from their conclusions.

B. RECOMMENDATIONS

Although this thesis attempted to be comprehensive in its coverage, it by no means addressed all relevant issues across the BDF. There are likely to be initiatives and problem areas, which were not drawn to my attention, or which I omitted to consider in

the final analysis of the available material. Nevertheless, I believe this thesis conveys an accurate picture of the position of women in Botswana, conveys the spectrum of attitudes and experiences of men and women, and identifies the major issues that need to be addressed for the gender integration process to be effective. The large number of recommendations is due, in part, to my decision to offer practical advice wherever possible. I offer the following recommendations:

1. Pass Legislation

The Botswana Parliament should pass a law that calls for the immediate inclusion of women in the BDF and provides the executive body support, financially and otherwise, to effectively integrate them. This immediate inclusion of women in the cadre of the BDF will mark an important social and cultural shift from the past as well as put the country on par with SADC military culture, and therefore, ending the history of sexism in the military. It will, as well, be in line with fulfilling the mandate of Botswana by participating in treaties and the organizations to which it subscribes, such as, the PFA.

2. Evoke Cultural Change

Change is one of the most difficult things to accommodate because one never knows for sure what it brings. Men tend to have an 'equality mentality not an equitable mentality' and 'the assumption seems to be that equality means the same and the same standard will be male'. Women should not feel as though for them to be accepted into the BDF, they have to 'fit' into the male way of doing things. They should not feel that the weight of the adjustment is on them; rather, the BDF should take full responsibility for assuring that the environment of integration is conducive to women. The first few women will have a hard time as old attitudes are adjusted. It is possible that men will make it difficult for them, but not necessarily on a conscious level. It is just they will not have actually thought through the way they act, the way they work, the way they operate. Therefore, to avoid this situation, the BDF should implement an educational program that prepares all its male personnel before the integration.

3. Recruitment

The BDF has always had limited vacancies even in the case of its all male defense force, therefore, from the beginning, a very clear strategy as to how many women and what kind of jobs they will be doing in the BDF has to be articulated. I highly

recommend that the BDF target women who have vocational skills and high level skills such as doctors, lawyers and engineers in addition to, a minimum high school diploma and for the first three or four years, recruit only women officers. Starting this way will make men aware that women potentially will become their seniors and command them. Since the first women will be officers, they will have more authority. The men will be compelled, and ultimately, become accustomed to being supervised by women. By the time women NCOs are introduced, soldiers and other NCOs will have been indoctrinated with the concept of dealing with women on a professional level. Even with the case of women NCOs, the BDF still has to create a strategy of how many and for what professions they will be required. Within this strategy, I would caution against the concept of creating quotas because quotas have a tendency of backfiring in the end. Quotas would restrict the efforts and accomplishments of those women who have the desire as well as the capability to serve in certain roles.

4. Training

I recommend that the basic training of the BDF, once women are accepted in the BDF, be integrated. There are many advantages and disadvantages in the context of the BDF regarding integrated training. Overall, the benefits outweigh the disadvantages. This approach can work well for the BDF and contribute to maximum force readiness. Gender integrated training can build the cohesion and teamwork needed specifically in the fighting units. The saying 'train-as-we-operate' is more than a catch phrase; it is an absolute necessity to ensure that team building begins on the first day recruits report. Delaying the team building process merely pushes this responsibility to the operational unit and ultimately affects readiness. Due to limited resources, the BDF cannot afford to separate training. Gender separated training is neither cost effective nor wise. The key to building effective cohesive gender integrated operational units is creating a training environment that builds progressively towards that goal.

5. Physical Standards

- A clear distinction needs to be retained between appropriate physical standards for employment in certain military trades and areas of work, on the one hand, and age- and gender-related standards of physical fitness, on the other.
- A process must be instituted whereby groups on exercises or in physical training are identified not by gender, but by their capability, so that the

differences in physical strength, speed and endurance are not overly and unnecessarily pronounced as gender differences.

6. Family Care and Pregnancy Policies

- In cases where the husband and wife are both members of the BDF, they should be greater coordination required among units in circumstances where service members and their partners are required on exercises.
- Reasonable steps need to be taken to obtain relevant and necessary information regarding possible adjustments to the workplace for women during pregnancy, taking into account the individual's capacity to continue to perform in a position or possibly be reassigned to a related position.
- Duties should be organized flexibly for personnel with child-care responsibilities.

7. Sexual Harassment Policies

- A clear goal must be established for the anti-harassment policy. A component of this needs to be the assurance that workplaces are set up in such a way that all who work in them, those who might work in them in the future, and those who visit them, are likely to feel comfortable in the physical and social environment.
- Leaders at all levels should be held accountable for ensuring that all personnel have been provided with policy statements and appropriate training and briefings. The BDF should put mechanisms in place to ensure that policy directives have been implemented and that the officers and non-commissioned officers (NCOs) have taken steps to avoid such incidences before they occur rather than reacting to them when they do occur. A climate at the work place should be such that the likelihood of sexual/gender harassment is minimized and leaders must clearly articulate their support of the policy and clearly communicate their standards of conduct to their subordinates.
- Professional relationships in the work place should be an expectation for the here and now, not for next year, and that educational and training resources are allocated to reflect this requirement.
- Sexual harassment by anyone in charge of people of lower ranks should be regarded as a serious form of misconduct.
- Anyone in a position of authority, seniority, influence or power, whether it is a commanding officer, officer commanding, an NCO, or any other person with responsibility for others' work and well-being, which does not comply with the anti-harassment policy and guidelines, must be harshly disciplined.
- Discipline commanding officers and supervisors who are aware of unlawful discrimination by subordinates but fail to take action.

- Commanding officers, and supervisors who have abused their authority, failed to ensure a safe and equitable command environment or otherwise interfered with the complaint process, should face disciplinary action which could include removal from command.
- Adequate training must be provided to those who offer support services to victims and witnesses such that the latter:
 - Be treated with fairness and respect for the victim's dignity and privacy.
 - Be reasonably protected from the accused offender.
 - Be provided with information as to the progress of the complaint resolution process, including the nature of any disciplinary action taken.
- Sexual harassment training by the BDF personnel should include: clear examples of what constitutes unacceptable behavior and gender and sexual harassment; the differences in how men and women tend to define and experience offensive behavior; and the cumulative effects on women of incidents of harassment; that such training provides ways of relating positively and professionally to colleagues.

8. **Fraternization**

As I discussed earlier, the definition of fraternization is worth noting: the BDF Act has sections explaining the offenses relating to fraternization even though the term fraternization is not common in the vocabulary of the BDF. Fraternization, within the BDF Act approaches the issue by implying the personal relationship between a junior and a senior violates the customary bounds of acceptable behavior in the BDF and prejudices good order and discipline, discredits the organization, or operates to the personal disgrace or dishonor of the officer or NCO involved. Therefore, the BDF needs to extend this definition to offenses relating to fraternization to encompass male—female relationships crossing the traditional boundary of junior-senior professional relations (rank wise). I recommend that the future fraternization policies of the BDF:

- Recognize that officers will not form sexual or personal relationships with soldiers and NCOs in terms of military equality, whether on or off-duty.
- Trainee and instructor: The integrity and leadership of the command and directing staff in a basic military training environment must not be permitted to be compromised by personal relationships with trainees. At a minimum, the directing staff/instructors will not date or carry on a social relationship with a trainee, or seek or engage in sexual activity with, make sexual advances to, or accept sexual overtures from a trainee.

- Sharing living accommodations, vacations, transportation, and off-duty interests on a frequent or recurring basis can be, or can reasonably be perceived to be, unprofessional. These types of arrangements often lead to claims of abuse of position or favoritism. Therefore, the policy should prohibit them.
- All the BDF members should share the responsibility for maintaining professional relationships. However, the senior member (officer or NCO) in a personal relationship bears primary responsibility for maintaining the professionalism of that relationship.

These prohibitions are not intended to preclude normal team building associations that occur in the context of activities such as community organizations, religious activities, family gatherings, unit-based social functions, or athletic teams or events.

C. RECOMMENDATIONS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

The materials studied and laid down in this thesis were thorough and addressed intended issues for this particular investigation. However, the study was limited by the accessibility of material relevant to African countries with the exception of some very limited information regarding South Africa and by the hesitance of relevant persons for interviews in Botswana. It is possible that legislatures, members of the ministry responsible for defense, the ministry responsible for women affairs, NGOs pioneering women issues and members of the BDF particularly high command would have different opinions than the ones I presented in this thesis. The contemporary, highly debated topic of allowing women to serve in combat positions has not been discussed because the BDF does not currently have women in its cadre. Therefore, it only made sense to leave the issue for future research. This issue independently needs to be explored in detail in the future. “We have to crawl before we walk.” The BDF also needs to examine in detail how women in the South African National Defense Force (SANDF) are performing within the policies there, and maybe arrange a tour and look at the various activities and policies regarding women in the SANDF.

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